



MUGHAL RELATIONS WITH THE STATE OF KHANDESH (AD. 1526-AD. 1601)

M. Phil. Dissertation

BY
MOHD. SIRAJ ANWAR

Supervisor
Professor Iqtidar Alam Khan

CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH (INDIA)

1990





[Handwritten signature]
CHECKED-2002

- 8 OCT 1991



DS1601

CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY

TELEPHONE : 5546



DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH-202002

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation on "Mughal Relations with the State of Khandesh (AD. 1526-1601)" being submitted by Mr. Mohd. Siraj Anwar is the original work of the candidate and is suitable for the submission for the award of M.Phil Degree.

19.5.1990

Iqtidar Alam Khan
(Iqtidar Alam Khan)
Professor of History

CONTENTS

Acknowledgement	1 - 2
Abbreviation	3
Introductory Chapter	4 - 35
Introductory remarks on the early history of the Khandesh state: Its relations with the neighbouring kingdoms down to AD. 1526.	
Description of the maps	
Appendix-A to Introductory chapter	
Map-A	
Appendix-B to Introductory chapter	
Map-B	
Chapter-I	36 - 51
Khandesh and its neighbours: Impact of the Mughal presence in North India: AD.1526-62	
Chapter-II	52 - 67
Mughal relations with Khandesh, AD.1562-76: Genesis of acrimony over Berar.	
Appendix-C to Chapter II	
Map C	
Appendix-D to Chapter II	
Map D	
Chapter-III	68 - 97
Khandesh's relations with the Mughal AD. 1576-97: Uneasy alliance against Ahmadnagar.	

Chapter-IV

98 - 124

Circumstances leading to the annexation of
Khandesh to the Mughal Empire: AD. 1597-1601.

Appendix-E to Chapter IV.

Map-E

Conclusion

125 - 130

Bibliography

131 - 137

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a great pleasure to express my deep gratitude to my supervisor Professor Iqtidar Alam Khan, who guided me at every moment to bring this dissertation to its present shape. His appetite for perfection has been a constant source of inspiration and encouragement, and if there are any flaws in this dissertation, they are solely due to my inability to come up to his standard of excellence.

I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Professor Irfan Habib, Co-ordinator, Centre of Advanced Study in History, for his keen interest in my work and the help I received from him.

I also express my gratitude to those who assisted me in one way or another in the writing of this dissertation, and although I admit my failure to name them all, my heart-felt gratitude is due to them. To name a few, I must thank Mr. Zahoor Ali Khan and Mr. Faiz Habib, who have been kind enough to prepare the maps for me. I am also thankful to Mr. Habibullah for his help in translating the Persian sources during my study.

Thanks are also due to the staff of the Library, Centre of Advanced Study in History and to the staff of Maulana Azad Library, A.M.U. Aligarh. I must also thank Mr. Suhail Ahmad (M/s Micro Services Centre, Aligarh) for his excellent word-processing of this dissertation.

My senior colleagues Dr.(Ms.) Aijaz Bano, Ms. Sumbul Halim Khan and Ms. Usha Galav deserve special thanks for their helpful advice and constructive criticism. I am indebted to my companions Mr. Vinod Kumar Singh and Mr. Rajiv Bargoti for their moral support. I can not forget to acknowledge my friends Mr. Abid Ali Khan and Mr. Nurul Mazumdar at this moment.

Last but not the least, my venerable parents have been a constant source of strength and their affectionate blessings have always encouraged me. Equally my brothers, sisters, brothers-in-law and sister-in-law inspired and morally encouraged me during my study for this dissertation.

May, 1990


19.5.90
(MOHD. SIRAJ ANWAR)

ABBREVIATIONS

Ain	-	<u>Ain-i-Akbari</u> of Abul Fazl
AN	-	<u>Akbarnama</u> of Abul Fazl
Anonymous Insha	-	<u>Anonymous Insha Collection</u> , MS, Bibliotheque Nationale, Persian Supplement, 1352, Paris
Burhan	-	<u>Burhan-i-Maasir</u> of Saiyid Ali Tabataba
Du Juric	-	<u>Historie des choses plus memorables..</u> . en I of Father Pierre [English translation by C.H. Payne, entitled <u>Akbar and the Jesuits</u>]
E & D	-	<u>History of India as told by its own historians</u> , of Elliot & Dowson
EIAPS	-	<u>Epigraphica Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement</u>
Ferishta	-	<u>Tarikh-i-Ferishta</u> by Abul Qasim Ferishta
IA	-	<u>Indian Antiquary</u>
IHR	-	<u>Indian Historical Review</u>
MA	-	<u>Mirat-i-Ahmadi</u> of Ali Muhammad Khan
Maasir	-	<u>Maasir-ul-Umara</u> of Shahnawaz Khan
MUT	-	<u>Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh</u> of Abdul Qadir Badaoni
PIHC	-	Proceedings of Indian History Congress
Ruqqat	-	<u>Ruqqat-i-Faizi</u> or <u>Waqiat</u> of Sheikh Faizi
Sikandari	-	<u>Mirat-i-Sikandari</u> of Sikandra bin Manjhu
TA	-	<u>Tabaqat-i-Akbari</u> of Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi
TFS	-	<u>Tarikh-i-Firozshahi</u> of Shams-i-Siraj Afif
TMS	-	<u>Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi</u> of Yahya bin Sarhindi
Tuzuk	-	<u>Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri</u> , Memoirs of Jahangir
ZUW	-	<u>Zafar-ul-Walih Bi Muzaffar wa Alihi</u> of Abdullah Muhammad Haji ud-Dabir.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

Introductory remarks on the early history of the
Khandesh state: Its relations with the neighbouring
kingdoms down to A.D. 1526

In AD 1398-99, Taimur's invasion had totally shattered the Tughlaq Empire. The collapse of the Tughlaq Empire gave an opportunity to the provincial governors of Malwa, Gujarat and Khandesh to assert their independence. Among the Tughlaq governors, second to assert independence was Malik Nasir Faruqi, the son of Malik Raja Ahmad Faruqi, who declared himself an independent ruler in AD. 1399-1400.¹ His realm at this time apparently comprised the territories of Thalner² and Karond, his original iqta, as well as other parts of Khandesh, that he might have succeeded in bringing under his control before AD. 1399. It seems that by this time Malik Nasir Faruqi's position vis a vis Asa Ahir (the local chief of the territory around Asir) was already that of a superior chief. According to Ferishta, Asa Ahir had submitted to Nasir's father Malik Raja.³ The territory of Thalner and Karond was conferred on Malik Raja by Firoz Tughlaq in AD. 1370-71 as iqta.⁴

-
1. Ferishta's Tarikh-i-Ferishta, Nawal Kishor Edition, Lucknow, 1864, II, pp 277-78. The first Tughlaq governor to assume independence in AD. 1396, was Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat.
 2. Thalner situated on 21°N, 74°E, was a fort of great strength (in Khandesh) Cf. Abul Fazl's Ain-i-Akbari, Nawal Kishor, Lucknow, 1882, II, pp.107-108.
 3. Ferishta, II, 278.
 4. Ibid, II, 277-78. Also see Radhey Shyam's The Kingdom of Khandesh, Delhi, 1981, p.6

Regarding the early life and career of Malik Ahmad Faruqi, the founder of the Faruqi dynasty of Khandesh, various stories are recorded by the historians. According to Ferishta, Malik Raja's ancestors were in the service of the Sultans of Delhi since 'Alauddin Khalji's time. His father's name is given as Khan-i-Jahan Faruqi. One might guess that this person could have been the descendant of one of the nobles of Khalji or Tughlaq period enjoying the title Khan-i-Jahan.¹ One such person was Malik Maqbul, who was entitled Khan-i-Jahan by Muhammad bin Tughlaq at the time of his appointment as the Wazir of Gujarat in AD. 1324-25.² After the death of Khan-i-Jahan his son Malik Raja Ahmad, for sometime, could not find a suitable means of livelihood, and eventually he entered Firoz Tughlaq's central army as a

-
1. T.W. Haig 'The Faruqi Dynasty of Khandesh', Indian Anti quary, 1918, p. 113, says that there was no any noble by the name of khan-i-jahan, neither under the khaljis nor under the Tughlaqs. But he is wrong to conclude this, since there was a wazir under Firoz Tughlaq whose name was khan-i-Jahan Maqbul and who died in Ad. 1370. Cf. Afif's Tarikh-i-Firozshahi, Edited by Maulvi Vilayat Husain, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1888-91, p. 426; Yahya bin Sirhindi's Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi, Edited by Maulvi vilayat Husain, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1931, p. 131.

Also see James Bird's (Tr.), Medieval Gujarat: The Political and statistical History, London, 1835, (Reprint) Delhi, 1980, p. 169; R.C. Jauhari's Firoz Tughlaq, Agra, pp. 19-20.

2. Ferishta, I, 133-34. Please also see H.K. Sherwani's The Bahmanis of the Deccan, Hyderabad, 1953, (Reprint) Delhi, 1985, p.25

private horseman. After sometime he became a Ghulam-i-Khas of the Sultan and began to accompany him on his hunting expeditions.¹

Haji-ud-Dabir's evidence regarding antecedents of Malik Raja's father are at variance from those given by Ferishta. According to him, Malik Raja's father, Khwaja Jahan, was a Wazir of Alauddin Bahman Shah in AD. 1347-48. After Khwaja Jahan's death, Bahmani Sultan nominated Malik Raja Ahmad as his Wazir. But soon differences arose between them, and Raja Ahmad left for Delhi, where he entered Firoz Tughlaq's central army as an ordinary trooper.²

The story of Malik Raja's enrolling as a noble of Firoz Tughlaq and his getting the iqta of Thalner and Karond is narrated by both Ferishta as well as Haji-ud-Dabir. This story is as follows: On one occasion while hunting in Gujarat, Firoz Tughlaq wandered far away from his camp and lay down under the shade of a tree, hungry and exhausted. It was eventually Malik Raja who traced him in wilderness bringing to him food and cold water. Pleased by Malik Raja's efficiency and his devotion to duty, Firoz Tughlaq was prompted to ask him about his background. Firoz was very

1. Ferishta, II, 276.

2. Haji-ud-Dabir's Zafar-ul-Walid Bi Munaffar wa Alihi, Translation by M.F. Lokhandwala, Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda, 1970, I, p.48

pleased to learn that he was a son of Khan-i-Jahan, a well known amir of early years of his reign, with whom he was well acquainted. That a man of such background was serving as a Ghulam-i-Khas appeared shocking to Firoz. The Sultan decided to promote him to a higher position. On returning to Delhi, Firoz made Malik Raja a commander of 2000 and also gave him the iqta of Thalner and Karond.¹

On the strength of oral information conveyed to him by Mirza Ali Isfahani,² Ferishta traces the genealogy of Malik Raja to 'Umar Faruq the second Caliph.³ Hence the rulers of Khandesh prefixed surname 'Faruqi' to their names.

On taking over the charge of the territory of his iqta in AD. 1370-71, Malik Raja reduced Bharji, Raja of Baglana⁴, compelling him to pay an annual tribute and acknowledge the

-
1. Ferishta, II, 276; ZUW (Tr.), I, 48
 2. Ferishta mentions Mirza Ali Isfahani as one of the persons who accompanied him in AD. 1604 from Bijapur to Burhanpur in the party of the troops escorting one of the princess of the Adil Shahi family married to Prince Daniyal. See Ferishta, II, 277
 3. Ibid.
 4. Baglana (21°N, 74°E). Situated between Surat and Nandurbar, a vilayat called Baglana possesses seven forts Cf. Ain, II, 120. Later this principality was attached to suba Gujarat under Akbar. Irfan Habib's An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, First published in 1982, Reprint, 1986, Sheet 7-A, p.23.

suzerainty of the sultan of Delhi. Expressing his appreciation of Malik Raja's achievement in subduing the Raja of Baglana, Firoz Tughlaq is reported to have observed that, he fulfilled the task which was expected to have been performed by the hakim of Deccan. The Sultan rewarded Malik Raja by promoting him to the command of 3000 and also by appointing him sipahsalar of Khandesh.¹

The context in which Ferishta mentions Malik Raja's appointment as the Sipahsalar of Khandesh goes to suggest that at that time the territory of Khandesh given in his administrative charge was much larger than the territory of Thalner and Karond comprising his iqta. Apparently, in addition to Thalner and Karond, the Khandesh territory also included the regions which later came to comprise the paraganas of Adilabad, Asir, Burhanpur, Borgaon, Songhir etc. mentioned in Ain-i-Akbari.² Ferishta also reports that after taking over the charge of Khandesh, Malik Raja increased his contingent from 3000 to 12000. As the resources of Khandesh were not sufficient for maintaining such a large body of

1. Ferishta, II, 276-77; T.W. Haig, 'The Faruqi Dynesty of Khandesh, op.cit., 113

2. It is assumed that the territory of Khandesh at that time (i.e. AD. 1372) was almost same as described by Abul Fazl in AD 1601 for Suba Dandesh with its 32 mahals in Ain, II, 107

troops, Malik Raja was induced to continuously raid Gondwana¹ as well as the territories of other neighbouring rajas forcing them to pay peshkash to him.² Such was his fame that the Ray of Jajnagar³ notwithstanding the distance established friendly relationship with him.⁴

In the first ten years of his career as the Sipahsalar of Khandesh, Malik Raja appears to have established his firm control over the territory given under his charge. During this time he seems to have functioned in harmony with the neighbouring governors of Gujarat and Malwa. He also continued to remit tribute to the central authority in Delhi. But towards AD. 1382, taking advantage of ineffectiveness of the central authority, he stopped remitting annual tribute to Delhi, although he did not declare himself independent.⁵ But he, thus, seems to have given an idea to both the governors of Gujarat and Malwa, who later on declared themselves

-
1. Gondwana territory (20°-25° N, 78°-83°E). During 16th century, the bulk of the Sarkar Garha consisted of the regions known as Gondwana. The chief principality of the Gondwana region was that of Garha, or as designated in Abul Fazl's Akbarnama, Garha Katanga. See Irfan Habib's Atlas, op.cit., Sheet 9-A, p. 35
 2. Ferishta, II, 277
 3. Jajnagar or Jajpur (20°N, 96°E), former capital of Orissa.
 4. Ferishta, II, 277
 5. T.W. Haig has said that by this time i.e. AD. 1382 Malik Raja declared himself independent. See 'The Faruqi Dynasty of Khandesh' op.cit., p.115.

independent in AD.1396 and AD. 1401 respectively.¹ Subsequently Malik Raja undertook another daring adventure in attacking the territories of Sultanpur² and Nandurbar³ in AD. 1394-95, which were at this time included in the province of Gujarat administered by its governor Zafar Khan (later entitled Muzaffar Shah). This attempt was, however, frustrated by Zafar Khan without much difficulty.⁴ This episode may be treated as a starting point of the long drawn out tussle between the rulers of Khandesh and Gujarat for the

-
1. Zafar Khan of Gujarat assumed independence in A.D. 1396 and assumed the title of Muzaffar Shah. Cf. Ferishta, II, 180. Dilawar Khan Ghorī of Malwa assumed independence in A.D. 1401. Cf. Ferishta, II, 234.
 2. Sultanpur situated in 21°N, 74°E, a pargana in sarkar Nandurbar in 16th century. Cf. Ain, II, 101. It is situated 12 kurohs north of Nandurbar. Irfan Habib's Atlas, op. cit., sheet 7-A, p. 23
 3. Nandurbar situated in 21°N, 74° is a sarkar. During Akbar's time included into suba Malwa. Cf. Ain, II, 95; Irfan Habib's Atlas, op. cit., sheet 7-A, p.23
 4. Tabaqat-i-Akbari of Nizamudding Ahmad. Edited by B. De and Muhammad Hidayat Husain, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1935, Vol. III, p.86; Ferishta, II, 277; Sikandar bin Manjhui, the author of Mirat-i-Sikandari, edited by Satish Chandra Misra and Muhammad Lutfur Rahman, M.S. Rao University, Baroda, 1961, in this context mentions wrongly the name of Malik Nasir, which is obviously a slip, p.17.

possession of the territories of Sultanpur and Nandurbar.¹

The rise of Gujarat as a semi-independent kingdom and growth of the Bahmani Kingdom made Malik Raja anxious about the security of his small territory. He, consequently, tried to strengthen his position by entering into a matrimonial alliance with Dilawar Khan Ghorī of Malwa. He married his daughter to Alp Khan, son and successor of Dilawar Khan, and took his daughter in marriage for his son Nasir.² It was through this kind of clever policy that Malik Raja seems to have warded away any intervention by the authorities of

-
1. Previous to AD. 1347-48, Nandurbar and Sultanpur were governed by the Tughlaq governors of Dowlatabad. When the Deccanis revolted against the Tughlaqs and took control of Dowlatabad in that year, the administration of Nandurbar and Sultanpur came under the control of Tughlaq governor of Gujarat. Cf. Ferishta, I, 275. The Tughlaq governors of Gujarat down to AD. 1396 and then independent Sultans of Gujarat, subsequently down to AD. 1536, continued to control these territories almost without interruption. But it is also true that the Khandesh rulers continued to covet Nandurbar and Sultanpur throughout this time. It was only in AD. 1536 that Khandesh ruler was able to gain these places from Gujarat in a friendly deal. The Gujaratis tried to snatch back these places from Khandesh in AD. 1566, but were not successful. The Khandesh rulers seem to have lost Nandurbar and Sultanpur only to the Mughals in AD. 1572. For this inference please see my paper entitled "Khandesh state in the second half of the sixteenth century: A study of its shifting boundaries (AD. 1562-1601)", included in the Volume of Indian History Congress, prepared by the members, centre of Advanced study in History, A.M.U., Aligarh and presented at the 49th session of Indian History Congress, Dharwad, 1988.
 2. Ferishta, II, 277; Also see T.W. Haig's 'The Faruqi Dynasty of Khandesh', op. cit. p. 115; Radhey Shyam's The Kingdom of Khandesh, op. cit., p. 11.

Gujarat as well as the ruler of Bahmani Kingdom in the internal affairs of Khandesh down to A.D. 1399. He, thus, was able to concentrate on the consolidation of his rule in Khandesh during AD. 1395-99 without having to face any outside interference.

Before his death in AD 1399, Malik Raja handed over the sacred robe of Sheikh Zainuddin to his elder son Nasir¹, thus indicating that he was to succeed him as the overall hakim of Khandesh. But at the same time Thalner and surrounding area, possibly his iqta, was given to Malik Iftikhar, the second son of Malik Raja.² As the successor of his father Malik Nasir seems to have made Laling³ as his headquarter.

But since Laling was very near to the borders of Ahmadnagar and Gujarat, and was exposed to their attacks, while the fort of Asirgarh⁴ was very strong and strategically situated at a safe distance from the borders of Ahmadnagar and Gujarat. So, after establishing himself as the hakim of Khandesh, Malik Nasir was forced by the situation to decide

-
1. Ferishta, II, 277.
 2. Ibid. Also see T.W. Haig, 'The Faruqi Dynasty of Khandesh', op.cit. p.116; Radhey Shyam, 'The Kingdom of Khandesh', op.cit. p.11.
 3. Laling is situated in 20°N, 74°E.
 4. Asirgarh (21°N, 76°E), a celebrated fortress in Khandesh. 'The seat of the local dynastic ruler. Cf. Ain, II, 107; Irfan Habib's Atlas, op. cit., Sheet 9-A, p.36

upon to capture the fort of Asirgarh from Asa Ahir, a local chieftain. Although Asa Ahir had already accepted a subordinate position to the Sipahsalar of Khandesh since Malik Raja's time,¹ so it was not proper for Malik Nasir to attack it. As well as Asirgarh fort was strong enough and almost impossible to take it assault. So, Malik Nasir decided to take it through a stratagem. According to Ferishta, Malik Nasir wrote a letter to Asa Ahir that Thalner was in the possession of his brother Malik Iftikhar, and Laling was too near to his enemies. Further, he requested him to accommodate his family members within the fort, so that he (Nasir) could face the enemy at a difficult time. Nasir's plan succeeded, because the dolis that went inside the fort were occupied by armed soldiers who killed the men of Asa Ahir and captured the fort easily.² But at the same time Ferishta further adds, that the treasure of Asa Ahir, which fell into the hands of Malik Nasir was never appropriated by any Faruqi ruler, and all the treasure came into the hands of Akbar when he occupied Asirgarh, two centuries later.³

1. Ferishta, II, 278

2. Ferishta, II, 277-78; Also See T.W. Haig, 'The Faruqi Dynasty of Khandeshi', op. cit., p.116; Radhey Shyam. The Kingdom of Khandesh, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

3. Ferishta, II, 279

After that, Malik Nasir laid the foundations of two new cities, Burhanpur¹ on the northern bank of river Tapti and Zainabad² on the southern bank. Having thus consolidated his position, Malik Nasir declared himself independent in AD. 1400 and had the khutba recited in his own name. According to Ferishta, he, thereby, realised the wish which his father had carried with him to his grave.³ After assuming kingship Malik Nasir conquered Pipaldol⁴, Songhir⁵ and other places.⁶ In AD. 1417, Malik Nasir also brought his brother Malik Iftikhar's

-
1. Burhanpur situated in 21°N, 76°E.
 2. Zainabad situated in 21°N, 76°E.
 3. Ferishta, II, 277-78. Ferishta's statement in this passage needs elaboration. Here he mentions Malik Nasir's entitlement by Ahmad Shah I prior to his declaring himself an independent ruler in AD. 1400. This seems to be a slip as we know that Ahmad Shah I came to the throne of Gujarat only in AD. 1411. Please see Ferishta, II, 182. Apparently here Ferishta is actually referring to the conferment of the Semi-title 'Khan' by Ahmad Shah I on Malik Nasir in AD. 1417. See Ferishta, II, 280; Sikandari 47-48.
 4. Pipaldol situated in 21°N, 76°E. It is a fort on a high hill near Jamod pargana Cf. Ain, II, 107.
 5. Songhir situated in 21°N, 75°E
 6. ZUW (Tr.), I, 49

iqta of Thalner under his control¹. This, he was able to achieve with the help of the ruler of Malwa, Hoshangh Shah. With this annexation, Malik Nasir was able to bring the entire Khandesh territory under his effective rule.

He then (i.e. in AD. 1417 itself) decided to snatch Nandurbar and Sultanpur from the Sultan of Gujarat. Hoshangh Shah of Malwa agreed to help Malik Nasir against Gujarat. On Malik Nasir's invasion of Nandurbar, Ahmad Shah I of Gujarat sent a force under Malik Mahmud Turk and other officers to oppose the invading armies of Khandesh and Malwa. Malik Nasir was obliged to withdraw to the fortress of Thalner, where he was besieged by the Gujaratis. While, Hoshang's son Ghazni Khan, who had come to Malik Nasir's help fled towards Mandu. Eventually Malik Nasir was compelled to agree to pay Peshkash to the ruler of Gujarat and also to release from prison his brother Malik Iftikhar, who took shelter in Gujarat.² After Malik Nasir had accepted these conditions, Ahmad Shah I gave

-
1. Ferishta, II, 279; Sikandari, 47-48; T.W. Haig 'The Faruqi Dynasty of Khandesh op.cit. p.116; Radhey Shyam, The Kingdom of Khandesh, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

Habib & Nizami (ed.), A comprehensive History of India, New Delhi, 1982, Vol. V, p.854; Woolseley Haig, (ed.). The Cambridge History of India, Delhi, 1958, Vol. III, p.297.

2. Malik Iftikhar went to Gujarat and married into the Gujarat royal family, and when the direct line of Malik Nasir became extinct in AD 1508-09, it was a descendant of Malik Iftikhar, who succeeded to the throne of Khandesh as Adil Khan III. Please see Ferishta, II, 282; ZUW (Tr.) I, 49.

a robe of honour to Malik Nasir and also conferred upon him the title of 'Khan'.¹ This conferment of title clearly amounted to reducing the status of Malik Nasir from that of an independent ruler to a protege of the ruler of Gujarat.

Malik Nasir was naturally unhappy at the humiliation inflicted on him by Ahmad Shah I. He was also greatly disappointed on the behaviour of Ghasni Khan, who had deserted him during the campaign against Nandurbar. He, therefore, broke his alliance with Malwa and decided to establish close relations with Ahmad Shah Bahmani. He married his daughter to Prince Alauddin, son of Ahmad Shah Bahmani in AD. 1429.² This was, apparently, aimed at getting Ahmad Shah Bahmani's help in Khandesh ruler's struggle to shake-off the Gujarat dominance which is borne out by the subsequent developments.

In AD. 1429-30, Kanha, Raja of Jhalawar,³ fell out with Ahmad Shah I of Gujarat and fled towards Khandesh for

-
1. TA, III, 104; Ferishta, II, 280; Sikandari, 47-48; ZUW, (Tr), I, 49; Habib & Nizami (ed.) op.cit., 855, Woolseley Haig, Cambridge History, op.cit., 297
 2. TA, III, 21; Ferishta, I, 327; T.W. Haig, op.cit., 117; H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (Ed.), History of Medieval Deccan (1295-1724), Hyderabad, 1973, I, 498. Radhey Shyam, The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar, p. 17, Habib & Nizami (ed.), op.cit., 857, Woolseley Haig, Cambridge History, op.cit., 297.
 3. Jhalawar situated in 23°N, 72°E, was a tributary principality of Gujarat.

protection. Malik Nasir and Ahmad Shah Bahmani came to his rescue. Raja Kanha led a Bahmani army and advanced into Nandurbar territory. Gujarat army under Shahzada Muhammad Khan defeated the Bahmanis, forcing them to retreat towards Dowlatabad. Ahmad Shah Bahmani sent reinforcement under Prince 'Alauddin. Malik Nasir and Raja Kanha also joined him. But again Gujarati army defeated them and forcing Bahmanis to retreat towards Dowlatabad, while Malik Nasir and Kanha took shelter in the hill tract of Khandesh.¹

In AD. 1436, Malik Nasir's daughter Agha Zainab quarrelled with her husband 'Alauddin Bahmani for his showing preference to another wife Zeba Chihra, whom he had married after his accession to the throne. Malik Nasir was, thus, provoked to break his alliance with the Bahmanis. He sought approval of Ahmad Shah I of Gujarat,² and invaded Berar, where many of the discontented Bahmani amirs welcomed him, and caused the Khutba to be recited in his name. Malik Nasir besieged Khan-i-Jahan, the Bahmani Sipahsalar of Berar in

-
1. TA, III, 115-17; Ferishta, II, 280; T.W. Haig, op.cit., 117; Radhey Shyam, The Kingdom of Khandesh, 17-18; H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi, (ed.), op.cit., 498, Habib & Nizami (ed.) op.cit., 857.
 2. Ferishta, I, 331; II, 280. Seeking of approval from the Sultan of Gujarat indicates that, by this time the relations between Khandesh and Gujarat had again become cordial. Also see T.W. Haig, op.cit., 117; H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (ed.), op.cit., 499.

the fortress of Narnala¹, prompting 'Alauddin Bahmani to send Khalaf Hasan Basri Malik-ul-Tujjar to oppose the invaders. Khalaf Hasan defeated Malik Nasir at Rohankhed² and then pursued him into Khandesh upto Laling. On the way he destroyed public buildings at Burhanpur. Khalaf Hasan defeated Malik Nasir again at Laling.³ This disaster shattered Malik Nasir's nerves leading to his death on Sept. 20, 1437 A.D. He was succeeded on the throne by his son 'Adil Khan I.

The reigns of Malik Nasir's successors Adil Khan I (AD. 1437-41) and Mubarak Khan I (AD. 1441-57) remained incident free, so far as Khandesh's relations with the neighbouring states were concerned. Mubarak Khan I was succeeded in AD. 1457 by his son Ain Khan alias Adil Khan II, who turned out to be an energetic and powerful ruler of Khandesh. Under him the Khandesh kingdom attained considerable prosperity. He expanded its boundaries extensively, compelling the rulers of Gondwana and Garh Mandla to acknowledge his suzerainty. He

-
1. Narnala (21°N, 77°E). It is a strong fortress on a hill in Berar, Cf. Ain, II, 109. It is surprising that Narnala itself does not appear in the Ain's list, although the fort is mentioned in the text. Cf. Irfan Habib's Atlas, op.cit., Sheet 9-A, p.36.
 2. Rohankhed is situated in 20°N, 76°E. It is situated within the Sarkar of Narnala.
 3. Ferishta, I, 332; II, 280. Woolseley Haig (ed.) Cambridge History, III, op.cit., 300; Radhey Shyam. The Kingdom of Khandesh, pp. 19-20; Habib and Nizami (ed.) op.cit. 862; J.D.B. Gribble's History of Deccan, I, London, 1895, pp. 99-100.

is reported to have led his forces as far as Jharkhand, thus earned for himself the title of Shah-i- Jharkhand.

In the early years of his reign, on two difficult occasions, Adil Khan II averted conflict with Malwa Kingdom. The situation threatening to escalate into conflicts on both these occasions were created by 'Adil Khan II's reluctance to get involved in a conflict with the Bahmanis at a time when Malwa ruler had become eager to annex the Bahmani territory of Berar for which he had no option but to march his army through Khandesh. First, Mahmud Khalji marched upon Asir in AD. 1461 allegedly for avenging the death of Syed Kamaluddin and Syed Sultan, two respectable and holy persons of Khandesh. Apparently the real aim of Mahmud Khalji's advance upon Asir on this occasion was to neutralize Adil Khan II in the military operations that he had planned against the Bahmanis. Upon Mahmud Khalji's approach, 'Adil Khan II sent to him a certain Qutb-i-Alam, a descendant of Sheikh Fariduddin Gani-i-Shakar and prayed for forgiveness. Adil Khan II's ready submission pleased Mahmud Khalji. He spared Asir and proceeded towards Berar and Ellichpur.¹ Adil Khan II made a similar overture of submission by giving a safe passage to the Malwa army through his territory in AD. 1462 also. It is,

1. TA, III, 341-42; ZUW (Tr.), I, 50; Radhey Shyam says that after accepting presents from Adil Khan II, Mahmud Khalji withdrew to his own country. See, The Kingdom of Khandesh, p.22

however, worth noting that on both these occasions Mahmud Begadah of Gujarat came to help Ahmad Shah Bahmani.¹ His contribution to failing Mahmud Khalji's plan to annex Berar during these campaigns was not insignificant.

Khandesh's relations with Malwa were far from cordial since Ghazni Khan's desertion during Malik Nasir's campaign against Nandurbar in AD. 1417. Khandesh's relations with the Bahmanis had also become strained in the wake of Khalaf Hasan Malik-ut-Tajjar's invasion in AD. 1436-37. It is, therefore, understandable that after AD. 1437, the Faruqi ruler of Khandesh should come to regard the Sultanate of Gujarat as the only other powerful neighbour as their protectors. This is borne out by the approval² given by Ahmad Shah I of Gujarat to Malik Nasir's invasion of the territory of Berar in AD. 1436-37. It might be conjectured that from this time onwards the rulers of Khandesh were perhaps paying an annual peshkash to the sultans of Gujarat for sometime. According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, Mahmud Begadah was provoked to invade Khandesh in AD. 1499 as Adil Khan II had not paid the

-
1. Ferishta, II, 195; Sikandari, 111-12, ZUW (Tr.) I, 148; Also see Woolseley Haig, (ed.) Cambridge History, op.cit., 304; Habib and Nizami (ed.), op.cit., 867-68.
 2. "basawadid Sultan Ahmad Shah Gujarati" Cf. Ferishta, II, 280. Ferishta's statement suggests that Ahmad Shah I gave only moral support to Malik Nasir and not military support.

peshkash for sometime past.¹ This would imply that Adil Khan II was paying an annual peshkash to the Sultan of Gujarat for sometime. One may imagine that Adil Khan II inherited this situation from his predecessor Malik Nasir, who might have resumed paying peshkash to the sultan of Gujarat in AD. 1437, when his relations with the Sultanate of Gujarat had become cordial once again to the point that Ahmad Shah I was persuaded to extend moral support to Malik Nasir's invasion of Berar.²

Mahmud Begadah's invasion of Khandesh in AD. 1499 resulted in the conclusion of a new understanding between the Khandesh and Gujarat under which Adil Khan II agreed to pay the arrears of peshkash of the preceding several years. Two years later in AD. 1501, Adil Khan II visited Gujarat to meet sultan Mahmud Begadah. He was perhaps invited to Gujarat by Mahmud Begadah himself. Adil Khan II underlined his closeness to Mahmud Begadah on this occasion by declaring Khandesh prince Alam Khan³ as his heir apparent.⁴ On his

-
1. TA, III, 165; Woolseley Haig (ed.); Cambridge History, op.cit, 313; Habib & Nizami, op.cit. 872.
 2. Ferishta, II, 195.
 3. Alam Khan was a direct descendant of Malik Iftikhar, who had sought refuge in Gujarat after he was defeated by his brother Malik Nasir in a struggle for political authority in Khandesh in AD. 1417.
 4. ZUW (Tr.), I, 49. T.W. Haig, op.cit, p. 119. Radhey Shyam, The Kingdom of Khandesh, p. 23.

return to Khandesh Adil Khan II died in AD. 1501. His nomination of Alam Khan as his successor was, however, set aside by his younger brother Dawud Khan, who occupied the throne of Khandesh¹ possibly with the help of some of the amirs friendly towards him. At this juncture Mahmud Begadah did not make any move to press the claim of his protege Alam Khan to the throne of Khandesh. He apparently decided to wait for a suitable opportunity for taking any step towards that end. Ahmad Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, on the otherhand, came forward on the invitation of some Khandeshi nobles, to oppose Dawud's accession by putting up a pretender, another Alam Khan, as a claimant for the throne who was advertised as a prince of Faruqi dynasty. To instal Alam Khan on the throne, Ahmad Nizam Shah invaded Khandesh in AD. 1503-04.² In the given situation Dawud Khan was not in a position to seek Mahmud Begadah's protection as he was supporting the candidature of another Alam Khan. He, therefore, was obliged to turn to Sultan Nasiruddin Khalji of Malwa. The Sultan promptly sent a force under Iqbal Khan and Khwaja Jahan to help Dawud Khan. These two officers succeeded in repulsing Nizam Shah's advance into Khandesh forcing him to

-
1. Ferishta, II, 281; T.W. Haig, op.cit., p. 120 H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (ed). op.cit. p. 503. Also see Stanley Lane-Pool's The Mohammadan Dynasties, Westminster, 1893, Reprint, Delhi, 1977, p.315.
 2. TA, III, 372; Ferishta, II, 282; Habib & Nizami (ed.), op.cit., 873, Woolseley Haig, Cambridge History, op.cit., 313

withdraw to Dowlatabad without achieving his aim of placing his nominee on the Khandesh throne. Dawud Khan showed his gratitude to the Malwa ruler for his timely help by agreeing to the recitation of Khutba in Khandesh in the name of Nasiruddin Khalji.¹ This amounted to Khandesh's accepting suzerainty of the Malwa ruler. This seems to have ensured military protection for Khandesh, particularly against possible hostile designs of Mahmud Begadah and Ahmad Nizam Shah. This policy of alliance with Malwa served Dawud Khan well, down to the end of his reign. It is worth noting that henceforth, both Ahmadnagar as well as Gujarat rulers did not give any trouble to Dawud down to the time of his death in AD. 1508.

After the death of Dawud Khan, some of the amirs of Khandesh had placed his son Ghazni Khan, on the throne, but soon the young king fell prey to the intrigues of the nobles. He was poisoned within ten days of his being proclaimed as King.² Subsequently, there began a civil strife in Khandesh between the partisans the of two Alam Khans. The two parties, one led by Malik Hisamuddin and another by Malik Laddan Khalji supported the candidatures of the proteges of

1. Ibid; Habib & Nizami (ed.) op.cit., 873; Woolseley Haig (ed.) Cambridge History, op.cit., 313.
2. Ferishta, II, 282; ZUW (Tr.) I, 51; T.W. Haig, op.cit., p. 121' H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (ed.) op.cit., p.504; Radhey Shyam, The kingdom of Khandesh, p. 26.

Ahmadnagar and Gujarat respectively.¹ However, in this civil strife, the party supporting the candidature of Alam Khan of Gujarat emerged as victorious and Mahmud Begadah succeeded to establish his protege Alam Khan on the throne of Khandesh with the title of Adil Khan III. He also conferred on him the title of Azam-i-Humayun² as if he was an amir of Gujarat sultanate, indicating thereby the subordinate status of Khandesh ruler vis-a-vis the sultan of Gujarat.

On Adil Khan III's accession, Malik Hisamuddin, who was forgiven by Mahmud Begadah for his co-operation with Ahmad Nizam Shah and was given the title Shahryar, once again started plotting to place Alam Khan, the Ahmadnagar protege, on the throne of Khandesh. For this purpose, he once again sought Ahmad Nizam Shah's help. Getting alarmed over this development Adil Khan III put him to death.³ Subsequently, Ahmad Nizam Shah made an appeal to Mahmud Begadah to bestow some territory in the region around Asir and Burhanpur to his protege, as he was also a prince of the Faruqi family. But Mahmud Begadah turned down his appeal.⁴ The Khandesh nobles, Sher Khan and Saif Khan, who were still supporting the claims

1. TA, III, 166; Sikandari, 222-23.

2. TA, III, 166; Ferishta, II, 282; Sikandari, 149; Habib & Nizami (ed.) op.cit, 676.

3. TA III, 168-69.

4. Ibid, III, 170-71.

of Ahmad Nizam Shah's protege, were forced to seek shelter at Gawilgarh in Berar.¹

Mahmud Begadah helped his grandson Adil Khan III with man and money assuring him protection against his adversaries. It was this assurance of support that encouraged Adil Khan III to march against the Chieftain of Galna,² who had accepted the overlordship of Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. He proceeded there with the Gujarat contingent in AD 1510-11 and succeeded in forcing the chief to pay peshkash to him.³

The close relationship established between Khandesh and Gujarat in the first decade of the sixteenth century continued unaltered after the death of Mahmud Begadah (AD. 1511). Sultan Muzaffar Shah II, who succeeded to the throne of Gujarat sultanate in AD. 1511, was both the uncle and father-in-law of Adil Khan III. Adil Khan III accompanied Muzaffar Shah II, when he came to Malwa in AD. 1517-18 for helping Mahmud Khalji against Medini Ray of Chanderi. He also accompanied him against Rana Sanga of Chittor who had made a

1. Ibid.; Ferishta, II, 283.

2. Galna is situated in 20°N, 74°E. It is 20 miles south-west of Dhulia in Western Khandesh.

3. TA, III, 170-71; Ferishta, II, 283 ZUW (Tr.), I, 55

common cause with Medini Ray.¹

In August, 1520 AD., Adil Khan III passed away, succeeded by his son Muhammad Khan I, whose mother was a sister of Sultan Bahadur Shah. Under Muhammad Khan I from AD. 1526 onward the Khandesh state got involved first in a conflict between Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar and Imad Shah of Berar, which forced him to seek help from Bahadur shah of Gujarat. But these happenings and subsequent invasion of Khandesh by the Mughals in AD. 1535 are the developments that form a part of the discussion in the first chapter entitled "Khandesh and its neighbours: Impact of the Mughal presence in North India; AD 1526-62."

Concluding Remarks of Introductory chapter

One may conclude this chapter with following brief observations: Since its very inception as an independent state, Khandesh was involved in a complex pattern of relationship with the Sultanate of Gujarat. This relationship was largely shaped, firstly, by a continuous dispute over the territories of Nandurbar and Sultanpur, and secondly, by a conscious policy on the part of the sultans of Gujarat to reduce the ruler of Khandesh to the position of a tributary chief. Occasionally the Khandesh rulers did try to ward-off

1. TA, III, 180-82; Ferishta, II, 207, 203; ZUW (Tr.), I, 94-95. Also see H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (ed.), op.cit., p. 506, Habib & Nizami (ed.) op.cit., 884; Woolseley Haig (ed.) Cambridge History, op.cit., 319.

the Gujarati pressure by cultivating closer ties with either the Khalji rulers of Malwa or the Bahmanis (and after their decline the Nizamshahis of Ahmadnagar). But the failure of Hoshang Shah of Malwa to protect the Khandesh ruler against Gujarat in AD. 1417 and that of Ahmad Shah Bahmani in AD. 1429, left the Khandesh ruler with no alternative but to reconcile themselves to the domination of sultanate of Gujarat. The experience of hostile relationship with Malwa in AD. 1462 over Adil Khan II's refusal to give passage to the Malwa army for attack on Berar seems to have convinced the Khandesh ruler (Adil Khan II) that there was no guarantee of strengthening Khandesh's independent position vis-a-vis Gujarat through an alliance with either Malwa or the Bahmanis. Mahmud Begadah's successful invasion of Khandesh in AD. 1499 clinched this issue. At this occasion, Adil Khan II was forced to agree to pay or rather renew the payment of peshkash to the Sultan of Gujarat. This amounted to implicitly recognizing the sultan of Gujarat as his successor. From AD. 1499 onwards down to the time of Sultan Mahmud Bagadah's death, by and large, the Khandesh state continued to be dominated by the sultanate of Gujarat. Installation of Alam Khan on the throne of Khandesh with the title Adil Khan III with support of Mahmud Begadah was a reassertion of Gujarati hegemony over Khandesh. This special relationship was further reinforced after the accession of Muzaffar Shah II to the throne of Gujarat as he was both an uncle and father-in-law

of the Khandesh ruler, Adil Khan III. Adil Khan III always co-operated with Muzaffar Shah II in his campaigns in Malwa and Mewar. Similarly, as we shall see in the next chapter, Adil Khan III's son, Muhammad Shah I also continued to cooperate with Bahadur Shah in his drive to annex Malwa and Mewar during AD. 1531-35.

Description of the maps:

For the purpose of this dissertation five maps have been prepared which accompany it as appendices A,B,C,D, and E. Map A shows the boundaries of the Khandesh state in AD. 1501, map B shows the boundaries in AD.1526, map C shows for AD. 1562, map D for AD 1572 and map E depicts the boundaries in AD. 1601.

For the purpose of these maps, the boundaries of territories not under the direct Khandesh rule but controlled by the local Zamindars, who paid tribute and accepted the overlordship of the Khandesh rulers, are treated as the area of influence under the Khandesh state. Such territories are, however, covered in the maps with oblique lines drawn parallel to each other to demarcate them from the rest of directly ruled territories.

For preparing these maps, information has been collected from various chronicles for each point of time. Then, after identifying places on the frontiers of Khandesh and the neighbouring states, an attempt is made to draw the boundaries of Khandesh on the maps. For identifying and depicting these places in the maps the following method is adopted: The names of the places mentioned or suggested by the chronicles as being included in the Khandesh state at one particular time are compared and identified with the names of

mahals and sarkars given by Abul Fazl in Ain-i-Akbari for the subas Dandesh, Gujarat, Malwa, Ahmadnagar and Berar. In cases of a place mentioned by the chronicles is identified on the sarkar or pargana headquarter mentioned by Abul Fazl within Dandesh Suba in Ain-i-Akbari, then the whole of the area of that particular sarkar and pargana is treated ipso facto a part of the Khandesh state. Because there does not exist any information suggesting that at the time of the creation of suba Dandesh any territories not included in the Khandesh state during the earlier period was added to the new suba. But, on the other hand, if any of the sarkar/pargana headquarter not included in the suba Dandesh, is mentioned by the chronicles as a part of the Khandesh state at one particular time, then the entire territory of that sarkar or pargana is also included in the confines of the Khandesh state for the corresponding date.

In these maps, however, the boundaries of sarkars that are shown, are the same as depicted in Irfan Habib's An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, where these are drawn along the natural confines of individual units running along the rivers and hills with the help of 1:2 million maps.¹

1. Irfan Habib, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, Oxford University Press, Delhi, First Published 1982, Reprint, 1986, p. X.

In the ensuing section the boundaries of the Khandesh state for AD.1501 and 1526 are described with reference to original sources and the maps prepared by me. The description of the boundaries of the Khandesh state for AD. 1562, AD.1572 and AD. 1601 are given alongwith the respective chapters.

APPENDIX-A TO INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

Description of the Boundaries of the Khandesh state in AD. 1501:

In AD. 1501, the actual boundaries of the Khandesh state extended from Jamod pargana in the east to the pargana of Thalner in the west bordering sarkar of Nandurbar, and from the pargana of Borgaon in the north-east to the pargana of Laling in the south-west bordering Galna.

However, at the time of the death of Adil Khan II (AD. 1501), the Khandesh state exercised its influence over the territories of Gondwana and Baglana. Although these principalities were ruled by the local rajas (Zamindars) but these local rajas had accepted the suzerainty of the rulers of Khandesh and agreed to pay an annual tribute. These areas of influence (i.e. Gondwana and Baglana) are shown in the appended map with oblique lines drawn parallel to each other.¹

Since the territories of Gondawana and Baglana are not contiguous to the boundaries of the Khandesh state, thus, it can be conjectured that the routes, which would have undertaken by the Khandesh rulers to invade these territories must

1. Please see the appended map A.

have been under the influence of the Khandesh state. But since, I have no any direct evidence regarding those areas, so it is assumed that those areas were out of the actual boundaries of the Khandesh state, but are shown in the map as the area of influence under Khandesh.¹

In the case of the invasion of Gondwana, it seems that the route taken by the ruler of Khandesh, might be laying through the sarkar of Handia. It goes to suggest that in AD.1501, though Handia was a part of the Malwa Kingdom, the ruler of Malwa was not controlling firmly the portion of the Handia which lay south of the river Narbada. The Khandesh ruler might be exercising an influence over that portion, and through this passage was being able to retain its influence over the territory of Gondwana. Thus, in the map, that portion has also been depicted as the area of influence of the Khandesh state.²

Similarly, in the case of Baglana, the passage through which the ruler of Khandesh invaded the territory of Baglana and maintained its influence, might be laying through the territory of Nandurbar. Since, there was a long standing dispute between Khandesh and Gujarat over the possession of territory of Nandaubar, it seems that at this time, the main

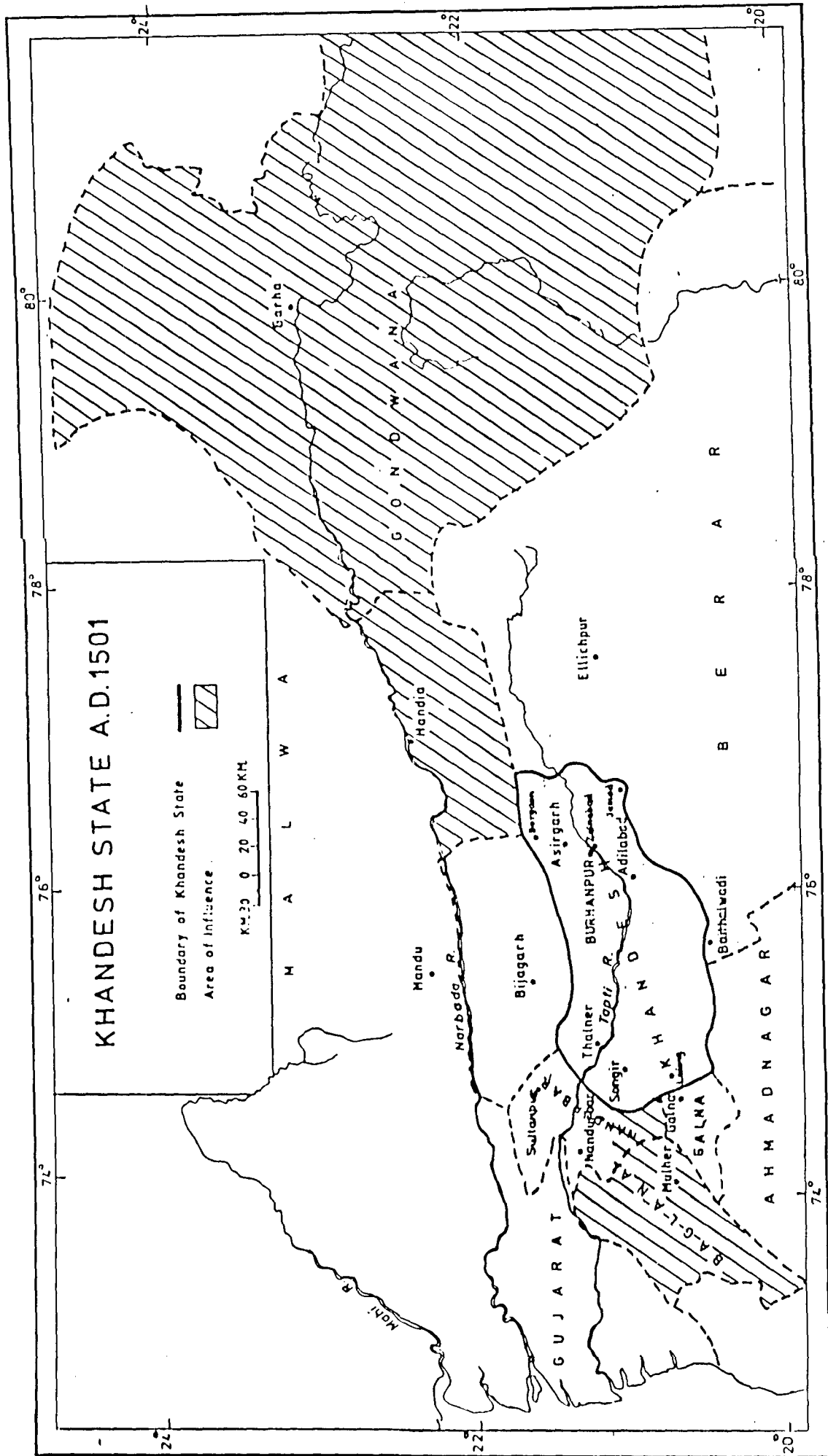
1. Please see the appended map A

2. Ibid.

Nandurbar was in the possession of Gujarat, but the southern part of the sarkar Nandaubar was not under the effective control of Gujarat. This portion is laying where the plateau of the region ends and the hilly area begins. Perhaps the ruler of Khandesh was exercising some influence over this portion, and through this passage exercised its influence over the territory of Baglana. thus, the southern part of the sarkar Nandaubar has also been included in the area of influence of the Khandesh state, hence shown in the map as the area of influence.¹

1. Please see the appended map A

Map A



APPENDIX-B TO INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

Description of the Boundaries of the Khandesh state in AD. 1526:

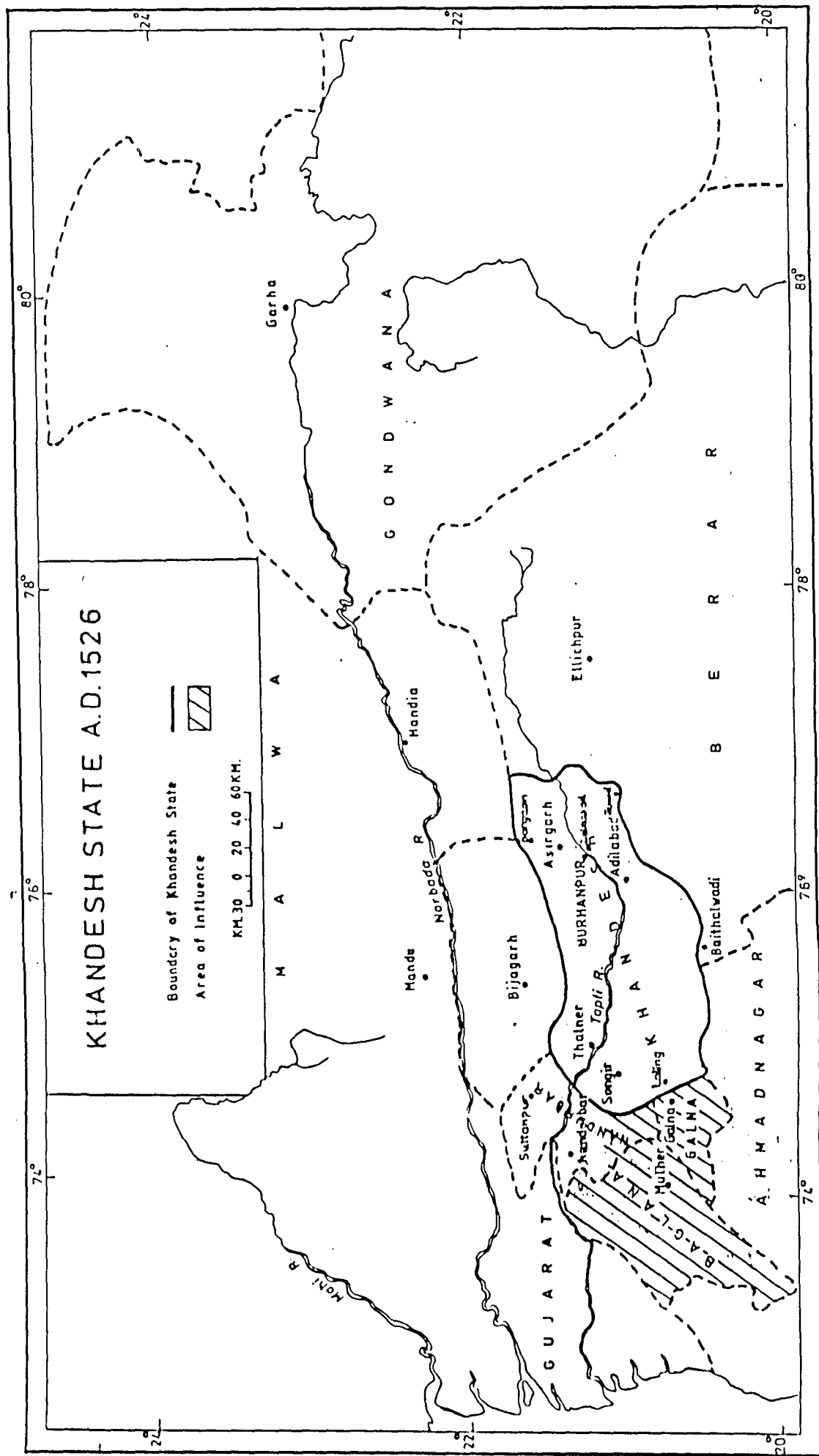
In AD. 1526, the actual boundaries of the Khandesh state extended from Jamod pargana in the east to the pargana of Thalner in the west bordering the sarkar of Nandurbar, and from the pargana of Borgaon in the north-east to the pargana of Laling in the south-west, bordering Galna.

It appears that by this time (AD. 1526), the ruler of Khandesh had failed to retain its influence over the territory of Gondwana, because no further evidence is found regarding his control over that territory. Therefore Gondwana has not been shown as the area of influence of the Khandesh ruler.¹ However, in AD. 1509, the raja (zamindar) of Galna had accepted the suzerainty of the ruler of Khandesh and agreed to pay an annual tribute to him. Therefore the territory of Galna was also included into the area of influence of the ruler of Khandesh.² The southern portion of the sarkar Nandurbar continued to be under the area of influence of the Khandesh state.

1. Please see the appended map B.

2. Ibid.

Map B



CHAPTER-I

Khandesh and its neighbours: Impact
of the Mughal presence in North India:
AD. 1526-62

As already stated after Bahadur Shah's accession to the throne of Gujarat (AD. 1526), there came to exist a special relationship between Khandesh and Gujarat. The Khandesh ruler, Muhammad Khan I was a nephew (sister's son) of Bahadur Shah whom he trusted fully from the very beginning. The fact that Bahadur Shah decided to hand over the custody of Mahmud, the son of his brother Latif Khan who had contested for the throne of Gujarat against him, to Muhammad Khan I, indicated the degree of trust and mutual co-operation that existed between them. In the same year (i.e. AD. 1526), Muhammad Khan I of Khandesh got involved in the conflict between Ahmadnagar and Gujarat. On the other hand he also got involved, though to a lesser extent, in a conflict between Gujarat and the Mughals.

In AD. 1527-28, Burhan Nizam Shah I and Ali Barid of Bidar had jointly attacked Berar. Alauddin Imad Shah finding his position not strong enough to face them, fled from Berar and sought refuge in Khandesh. Muhammad Khan I decided to help Imad Shah. He accompanied Alauddin Imad Shah and marched out towards Berar to oppose the invading forces of Ahmadnagar and Bidar. But eventually they were obliged to retreat to Burhanpur after having lost many elephants and pieces of artillery to the enemy. At this stage Muhammad Khan I wrote a letter to Bahadur Shah requesting him for help. Bahadur Shah

promptly came forward to the rescue of Khandesh ruler forcing Burhan Nizam Shah to retire to Dowalatabad. On the advance of the combined forces of Khandesh, Gujarat and Berar to the confines of Ahmadnagar, Burhan Nizam Shah I was forced to agree to acknowledge the overlordship of Bahadur Shah by allowing the inclusion of his name in the khutba within Ahmadnagar territory.¹

In AD. 1529, Alauddin Imad Shah again appealed to Bahadur Shah for help against Burhan Nizam Shah I, as, according to him, he had not fulfilled the terms of treaty concluded with him a year before.² On this occasion, Bahadur Shah again marched with a large army towards Deccan. Muhammad Khan I and Imad Shah also joined him. Their combined forces marched against Ahmadnagar by way of Baglana, where they were welcomed by Raja Bharji offering submission to Bahadur Shah. The Raja also gave one of his sisters in marriage to Bahadur Shah and another sister in marriage to Muhammad Khan I of

-
1. TA, III, 212; Ferishta, II, 284; Sikandari, 268-69. Also see Woolseley Haig's The Cambridge History of India, Vol. 3, Delhi, 1958, p.325; Habib & Nizami (ed.) A comprehensive History of India, New Delhi, 1982; Vol. V, p.890.
 2. Ferishta, II, 284; Sikandari, 269. As to what were the terms allegedly not fulfilled by the Ahmadnagar ruler is not made explicit by chroniclers reporting this development. But from the fact that such a complaint was made by the ruler of Berar, one may conjecture that these relate to the territorial or some other kind of disputes leading to the invasion of Khandesh by the joint forces of Ahmadnagar and Bidar in AD. 1527-28.

Khandesh.¹ The combined armies of Gujarat, Khandesh and Berar, re-inforced by the retainers of Baglana Zamindar, eventually gained a victory over the joint armies of Ahmadnagar and Bidar.

In AD 1530, Bahadur Shah again visited Burhanpur. On receiving an appeal from Imad Shah, he was inclined to attack Ahmadnagar once more, but on this occasion, Muhammad Khan I, who in the meanwhile appears to have somewhat softened towards Ahmadnagar, played the role of an intermediary and peacemaker. His good offices were accepted by both Bahadur Shah and Burhan Nizam Shah I.² Muhammad Khan I helped in restoring amicable relations between Bahadur Shah and Burhan Nizam Shah I by arranging friendly meetings between them, which were always attended by him as well. It was at one of these meetings at Burhanpur that Bahadur Shah had conferred the title 'Shah' on Burhan, thus recognizing Nizam Shahi

-
1. Sikandari, 271-72; Also see Ali Muhammad Khan's Mirat-i-Ahmadi, edited by Syed Nawab Ali, Calcutta, 1928 p.70, only says that Raja Bharji offered submission and makes no reference about the marriage of Bahadur with Bharji's sister.
 2. TA, III, 217; Ferishta, II, 219; Sikandari, 270. Also see T.W. Haig, op.cit., p.123; H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (ed.) op.cit., p. 507. Radhey Shyam's The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar, Delhi, 1966, pp.72-73.

ruler as his equal.¹ He also bestowed the title of 'Shah' on his nephew Muhammad Khan I and designated him heir-apparent to the Gujarat throne², the latter henceforth styling himself Muhammad Shah. It was, incidentally, the first occasion when a ruler of the Faruqi dynasty used such a royal title for himself.

It has earlier been related that Muhammad Shah I, being closely allied with Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, always accompanied him in his expeditions. In AD. 1531, he accompanied

-
1. TA, III, 217; Sikandari; 279. Ferishta says that Bahadur Shah gave to Burhan the title of 'Shah', because he hoped that Burhan Nizam Shah I would help him in the war with Humayun, which he intended to carry on, but as a matter of fact, the opposite of this happened, for Nizam Shah sent an emissary to Humayun and wanted him to come and attack Gujarat Cf. Ferishta, II, 219. Iqtidar Alam Khan in his article, "Ahmadnagar and the Sur Empire, AD. 1537-53 - A study of contemporary documents", PIHC, 1983, pp.177-78, says that in AD.1537-38, Burhan Nizam Shah I's adoption of shiite belief and promotion of shiism in Ahmadnagar created a sharp sunni reaction in the neighbouring states of Gujarat, Khandesh, Berar and Bijapur, and their rulers had formed an alliance with the declared aim of overthrowing Burhan Nizam shah for his heresy. To ward-off this serious threat to his position Burhan Nizam shah decided to seek Humayun's protection and sent one of his nobles Rasti Khan to Humayun requesting Mughal Emperor to invade Gujarat. Ferishta's remarks tends to suggest that although Humayun was willing to help Burhan Nizam shah, he did not get an opportunity to take any action on account of his pre-occupation with Shershah's affairs.
 2. TA, III, 217, Ferishta, II, 219, Sikandari, 279 T.W. Haig, op.cit., p. 123; H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (ed.), op.cit., p. 507; Radhey Shyam, The Kingdom of Khandesh, p.37.

Bahadur Shah during Malwa campaign¹ and later assisted him in the seize of Chittor.² This made him a party to one of Bahadur shah's military exploits directed primarily at weakening the Mughal authority in eastern Rajputana.

At this time the relations between Bahadur Shah and Humayun had become generally strained, as the former had given refuge to some of the Lodi amirs, and also to Muhammad Zaman Mirza, who was in revolt against Humayun.³ Muhammad Zaman Mirza had joined Bahadur Shah at the time when he was besieging Chittor during AD. 1532-33. When Humayun wrote to Bahadur Shah to surrender Muhammad Zaman Mirza, he refused to comply with this demand.⁴ However, even after retiring from Chittor in the beginning of AD.1533, Bahadur Shah continued his operations in northern Malwa. He occupied the fort of

-
1. Ferishta, II, 284; Sikandari, 229, Woolseley Haig, Cambridge History, op.cit., p. 328; Habib & Nizami (ed). op.cit., 890.
 2. TA, III, 222-23; Ferishta, II, 285; Sikandari, 285-86, 291-93.
 3. Abdul Fazl's Akbarnama, Edited by Maulvi Agha Ahmad Ali and Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Bibliotheca India, Calcutta, 1876-86, Vol. I, p. 127; Also see TA, III, 227, Sikandari, 295-96; Woolseley Haig, Cambridge History, op.cit., Vol III, p. 329, Habib & Nizami (ed.), op.cit., 891, Ishwari Prasad's The life and Times of Humayun, Orient Longman, Calcutta, 1955, pp.64-65.
 4. AN, I, 127; TA, III, 228. Please also see R.P. Tripathi's Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, Allahabad, 1956, Reprint, 1981, p.74.

Gagraun¹ and gave away the forts of Raisen², Chanderi³ and Vilayat of Bhilsa⁴ as "jagir" to Alam Khan Lodi, who fleeing from Kalpi had joined him from fear of Humayun.⁵ Bahadur Shah also granted "jagirs" in Malwa to a number of his Gujarati amirs. On 25th April, 1535 AD. Muhammad Shah I and Mallu Qadir Shah of Malwa are reported to have accompanied Bahadur Shah on his disastrous flight from Mandasor⁶ to Mandu.⁷

After expelling Bahadur Shah from Gujarat and having made over the Government of Gujarat to Mirza Askari and other Mughal officers, Humayun decided to return to Mandu by way of Burhanpur. Humayun had taken this decision of going to Khandesh to punish Muhammad Shah I for his alleged help and siding with Bahadur Shah against him at Mandasor. He went to Burhanpur and ransacked and destroyed the city.⁸ The severe

-
1. Gagraun is situated in 24°N, 76°E, in Malwa.
 2. Raisan is situated in 23°N, 77°E in Malwa.
 3. Chanderi is situated in 24°N, 78°E in Malwa.
 4. Bhilsa is situated in 23°N, 77°E.
 5. TA, III, 226; Habib & Nizami (ed.), op.cit., 891.
 6. Mandasor is situated in 24°N, 75°E in the West of Malwa, near the border of Rajasthan.
 7. AN, I, 129-30; TA, III, 229-30; Ferishta, II, 285; Sikandari, 296-97; Woolseley Haig., Cambridge History, op.cit., III, 331.
 8. AN, I, 142; TA, III, 232; Ferishta, II, 285; ZUW (Tr.), I, 201.

punishment inflicted on the ruler of Khandesh alarmed and frightened other rulers of the Deccan. Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar and Imad Shah of Berar promptly wrote submissive letters to the Mughal Emperor.¹ This severe attitude adopted by Humayun further embittered Muhammad Shah I, who remained firmly allied with Bahadur Shah, and closely associated with him in his drive to expel Mughals from the territories of Gujarat and Malwa.

After few days, Humayun had to return to Agra due to the activities of Sher Shah in the north. He had hardly turned off from Mandu, that mutual dissension broke out among the Mughal officers in Gujarat. Taking advantage of it, Bahadur Shah assembled his troops and re-occupied Gujarat after driving away the Mughals from there.² Simultaneously, he also instructed Muhammad Shah I, the Khandesh ruler to expel Mughal officers from Malwa. The latter, promptly complying with this direction, pursued the retreating Mughals across the Malwa. After Malwa was cleared of the Mughal forces Muhammad Shah I took control of the entire territory

1. Ferishta, I, 215.

2. AN, I, 143-44; ZUW (Tr.) I, 201-02; R.P. Tripathi, Rise and Fall op.cit, p. 96; Woolseley Haig, Cambridge History op.cit, III, 333, Ishwari Prasad, op. cit.; 86.

including Mandu, its administrative headquarter.¹

On Bahadur Shah's death, in AD. 1537, at the hands of the Portugese, his mother Makhaduma-i-Jahan and the amirs of Gujarat invited Muhammad Shah I to ascend the throne of Gujarat. Khutba was recited and coins were struck in his name at Gujarat, in his absence, despite the disturbance created by the Mughal deserter Muhammad Zaman Mirza.² He had thus become the ruler of a very large kingdom comprising of Khandesh as well as Gujarat territories. Muhammad Shah I set out for Ahmadabad but was taken ill on the way and died on 4th May, 1537 A.D. His body was brought to Burhanpur and was buried there amidst elaborate ceremonies.³

After Muhammad Shah I's death his brother Mubarak Shah II succeeded in capturing the throne.⁴

There was an established practice among the Faruqi rulers of Khandesh that all other likely claimants to the throne would be put in prison on the accession of a new

-
1. Ferishta, II, 285, Sikandari, 318, ZUW (Tr.), I, 215; T.W. Haig, op.cit, p. 123; H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (ed.), op.cit, p. 508.
 2. TA, III, 234-35; Ferishta, II, 286; Sikandari, 326. Also see T.W. Haig, op.cit, p. 123, H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (ed.), op.cit, p. 508, Radhey Shyam's The Kingdom of Khandesh, pp. 37-38, Ishwari Prasad, op.cit, 89-90.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ferishta, II, 286; Lane-Pool's Mohammedan Dynasties, op.cit, p. 315.

king.¹ Accordingly, Mubarak Shah II, a real brother of Muhammad Shah I was also kept a prisoner in the fort of Asirgarh till the time of latter's death. In the Asirgarh fort he had Prince Mahmud, son of Latif Khan of Gujarat, as one of his companions.²

On ascending the throne, Mubarak Shah II hoped that since there was not available in Gujarat any prince of the ruling family who could be put up as a claimant to the throne of Gujarat, the amirs therefore, would have no option but to invite him to assume the Kingship of that Kingdom also. But his hopes were dashed to ground when they (i.e. amirs of Gujarat) made a demand up on him to release Prince Mahmud, who was still in imprisonment at Asirgarh and expressed their inclination to declare him as a new sultan of Gujarat. Mubarak Shah II's first reaction to this demand was a flat refusal to hand over Prince Mahmud to them. But when they threatened a military action against Khandesh, Mubarak Shah II was obliged to send Prince Mahmud to Ahmadabad, where he was elevated to the throne as sultan Mahmud Shah III.³

-
1. Cf. Faizi Sirhindi's Akbarnama in Elliot and Dowson's (ed.) 'The History of India as told by its own Historians, Allahabad, 1964, Vol. VI, 134. Also see AN, III, 779.
 2. TA, III, 235-36; Ferishta, II, 286; Sikandari, 326.
 3. TA, III, 235-36; Ferishta, II, 286; Sikandari, 326-27; T.W. Haig, op.cit, p. 124; H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (ed.), op.cit, p.509; Radhey Shyam. The Kingdom of Khandesh, p.40.

After this humiliation Mubarak Shah II decided to prepare himself for gaining the throne of Gujarat by force. With this end in mind, he first invaded Malwa in AD.1537 annexing the territories of Bijagarh and Handia¹, which naturally boosted his prestige as well as military potential. In the meanwhile, there had begun a power struggle in Gujarat between two powerful nobles, Darya Khan and Imad-ul-Mulk, both of whom wanted to dominate over the young sultan, and to take control of the administration in their own hands. In this power struggle, eventually, Darya Khan emerged victorious. He drove away Imad-ul-Mulk from Gujarat obliging him to take refuge in Khandesh, who requested Mubarak Shah II for military assistance against his adversaries. Mubarak Shah II promptly seized this opportunity of intervening in Gujarat. He came to the assistance of Imad-ul-Mulk with his large contingent. However, Darya Khan accompanied with young sultan Mahmud III succeeded in defeating Mubarak Shah II and Imad-ul-Mulk in a battle near the Gujarat and Khandesh frontiers. The two took shelter in Asirgarh and Mandu respectively. As the Gujarati forces advanced into Khandesh, Mubarak Shah II was compelled to sign a treaty and pay

1. ZUW (Tr.) I, 57.

peshkash to the sultan of Gujarat.¹ On his return from this campaign, Mahmud III gave away Nandurbar and Sultanpur as gifts to Mubarak Shah II. This was, apparently, to fulfil a promise which he had given to Mubarak Shah II during the time when both of them were confined in the fort of Asirgarh.²

Although Mubarak Shah II had to pay a peshkash to the sultan of Gujarat but he remained still a powerful ruler and actually benefitted from the treaty and gained the long disputed territories of Nandurbar and Sultanpur. Though Mahmud III gave him these territories on the pretext of fulfilling a promise which he had made during their confinement in the fort of Asirgarh. But this was apparently done by Mahmud III and his supporting nobles to placate Mubarak Shah II who had strengthened his position by invading Malwa in the previous year. Mahmud III, by surrendering Nandurbar and Sultanpur, purchased peace and ensured from the further intervention of Mubarak Shah II. So that, he could be able to consolidate his own position in the affairs of Gujarat, which were in a deteriorating

-
1. TA, III, 236-37; Ferishta, II, 286; ZUW (Tr.), I, 57. Sikandar bin Manjhu, the author of Mirat-i-Sikandari mentions that khutba was also recited and coins were struck in Burhanpur in the name of Mahmud Shah III. See Sikandari, 331-32. But it seems to be an exaggeration just to highlight the prestige of Gujarati sultan.
 2. Ferishta, II, 286; T.W. Haig, op.cit, p.124; H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (ed.) op.cit, p. 509; Radhey Shyam's The Kingdom of Khandesh, p.41.

condition during this time due to the factional fight amongst the nobles.

For sometime, after this development, the relations between Khandesh and the sultanate of Gujarat remained cordial. The next phase of tension in Khandesh's relations with Gujarat commenced in AD. 1543, when Mubarak Shah II decided to give shelter to Darya Khan, the powerful wazir of the sultanate of Gujarat, after he had fallen out with his master.¹ It seems that during this time Mahmud III was making secret preparations for invading Khandesh. This can be inferred from the contents of a letter written by one of the Ahmadnagar nobles to Khudawand Khan, the Diwan-i-Kul in Gujarat, who was apparently very influential in the affairs of Gujarat Sultanate at that time. In this letter, the writer (Ahmadnagar noble) specifically asks Khudawand Khan to dissuade the sultan from attacking Mubarak Shah II.² The same

1. Sikandari, 343-45. However, Sikandar bin Manjhu does not mention clearly whether Mubarak Shah II assisted Darya Khan or not. But, it is referred that the sultan issued a firman and recalled Imad-ul-Mulk from Mandu, whom Darya Khan had expelled from Gujarat during their struggle for power. Cf. Sikandari, 343-45.
2. Anonymous Insha collection (Miscellaneous MS) MS. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris supplement. 1362, Paris. Microfilms nos. MF-453-54, in the Centre of Advanced study in History, A.M.U. Aligarh, Folio (margin) 22-23. An English summarised translation of the text of this letter is as follows:

"It is to be reported that Khatib Burhanuddin has come to this place, and through him Mir Miran Mubarak Shah intend to appeal for mercy and that he (Mubarak Shah) counts himself among those who are pledged to be

letter also tends to give the impression that during this time the relations between Khandesh and Ahmadnagar have tended to improve somewhat. This is, for instance, suggested by the fact that Mubarak Shah II had sent, around this time one khatib Burhanuddin as his envoy to Ahmadnagar court. Apparently, Mubarak Shah II himself was very anxious to revive cordial relations with Ahmadnagar under the impression that such a development would help in resolving the difficulties that had lately arisen in his relations with the sultan of Gujarat. As we know from the above cited letter, he seems to have requested one of the Ahmadnagar nobles to act as an intermediary between himself and the Sultan of Gujarat.¹

Mubarak Shah II next intervened in the affairs of Gujarat only in AD. 1553. In this year, following the death of Mahmud Shah III, a section of the amirs in Gujarat raised

ntinued...

loyal.

The arrival of the above mentioned (Burhanuddin) could start a correspondence between the two states. Your (an Hazrat) intervention will help him (Mubarak Shah) to reach his goal. As it is against a thoughtful mind to attack his fellow religionist ('ahl-i-Islam), and also against mansab-i-Khilafat. So you should intervene to prevent His Majesty (Huzoor Nawab Kibriya) to attack".

to throne a young boy of doubtful ancestry entitling him Ahmad Shah II. Accession of Ahmad Shah II was stoutly opposed by some of the amirs. Mubarak Shah II decided to take advantage of the factional fight among the Gujarati amirs. He advanced towards Gujarat frontier with a large army. Gujarat army commanded by the supporters of Ahmad Shah II came forward to oppose him.¹ But this confrontation did not lead to actual hostilities. Some of the Gujarati amirs sent emissaries to Mubarak Shah II with peace proposals. Finally a settlement was arrived at and the two armies withdrew from their frontiers.²

The chronicles do not clearly spell out the terms of the settlement. Sikandar bin Manjhu simply says that Ahmad Shah II's envoy Saiyid Mubarak pleaded for peace saying that as he (i.e. Saiyid Mubarak) was a descendant of the Prophet, and Mubarak Shah, a descendant of the Prophet's close companion, Hazrat 'Umar Faruq', it does not behove the two sides to fight each other and the peace offer was accepted by Mubarak Shah II.³

From this description one might infer that Mubarak Shah

..Continued...

1. Ibid.

1. Sikandari, 390-91; Radhey Shyam The Kingdom of Khandesh, pp. 41-42.

II's march to Gujarat frontier at this time was only in the nature of a show of force aimed at forcing the new sultan of Gujarat to reiterate the special ties uniting the two ruling dynasties since AD. 1508. Once an acknowledgement of these ties was forthcoming from the new ruler of Gujarat, he was no longer interested in petting military pressure on Gujarat and accordingly retired from the frontier.

CONCLUDING REMARKS OF CHAPTER-I

The close relationship established between the state of Khandesh and the sultanate of Gujarat around AD. 1508 continued, by and large, undisturbed down to AD. 1535. The Khandesh ruler Muhammad Shah I (accession AD. 1520) like his predecessor continued to co-operate with the sultans of Gujarat in their expeditions in Malwa and Mewar territories as well as against the Mughals during the period AD. 1531-35. But it appears that there was a sudden rupture in this close relationship following Bahadur Shah's violent death at the hands of the Portuguese in AD. 1536. The ruler of Khandesh Mubarak Shah II wanted to take advantage of the infighting that surfaced amongst the nobles of Gujarat after Bahadur Shah's removal from the scene. He infact seems to have aspired for the throne of Gujarat. But perhaps the immediate target of Khandesh ruler during this time was to gain the disputed territory of Nandurbar and Sultanpur from

 .Continued...

Gujarat which he succeeded in achieving in AD. 1537.

The tension in Khandesh-Gujarat relations erupted again in AD. 1543 over Mubarak Shah's decision to give shelter to the Gujarati noble Darya Khan who had fallen out with his master. Again, he also intervened in the war of succession that ensued in Gujarat after the death of Mahmud Shah in AD. 1553. Through this kind of intervention Mubarak Shah II seems to have succeeded in restoring the special ties (underlined by marital and blood relationship) between the two ruling families existing since AD. 1508. But from Khandesh's side the perception of this relationship was very different from what it was during AD. 1508-35. Now under the garb of special relations, it was the Khandesh ruler who was trying to establish his sway in the affairs of sultanate of Gujarat rather than the sultan of Gujarat imposing his hegemony over Khandesh.

..Continued...

2. Sikandari, 397.

3. Ibid.

CHAPTER-II

Mughal relations with Khandesh,
AD. 1562-76: Genesis of acrimony
over Berar.

It was in AD. 1561-62 that the state of Khandesh came face to face with the Mughal imperial armies. This was a sequel to the Mughal invasion of Malwa. As a Mughal force, in the beginning under the command of Adham Khan and later under Pir Muhammad Khan Sherwani, advanced into Malwa, Baz Bahadur¹ was obliged to cross Narbada river. He eventually took refuge in Khandesh.² In AD. 1562, Pir Muhammad Khan also crossed Narbada and besieged Baz Bahadur in Bijagarh. The Mughals succeeded in capturing the fort of Bijagarh. Its commandant Itimad Khan, an officer of Baz Bahadur was killed in this operation.³ Subsequently, Baz Bahadur was chased by the Mughals upto Burhanpur. As Baz Bahadur had taken shelter in Burhanpur, Pir Muhammad Khan attacked and sacked the city

-
1. Baz Bahadur was the son of Shujaat Khan, the Sur governor of Malwa, who after the decline of Sur power had assumed the status of an independent ruler of Malwa, sometime in AD 1554-55. Baz Bahadur succeeded him in AD. 1555 and continued to rule till its annexation by Akbar in AD. 1562. Cf. Ferishta, II, 273. Also see Habib & Nizami (ed.), op.cit, 936; U.N. Day's Medieval Malwa, Delhi, 1965, pp. 337-38.
 2. AN, II, 134-35; Also see Badaoni's Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Edited by Maulvi Ahmad Ali and Kabiruddin Ahmad, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1868, Vol. II, pp. 47-48; Ferishta, I, 250-51; T.W. Haig, op.cit, 124; H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (ed.) op.cit, 509.
 3. AN, II, 166; MUT, II, 50; Also see U.N. Day's Medieval Malwa, 344.

ordering a general massacre of the inhabitants.¹ But this did not deter Mubarak Shah II of Khandesh from helping Baz Bahadur. He alongwith Tufail Khan of Berar came forward to face Pir Muhammad Khan. Being not in a position to face this combined force, Pir Muhammad Khan vacated Burhanpur. He was drowned in Narbada while crossing the river during retreat to Mandu.² In the course of this fighting Baz Bahadur appears to have regained temporarily some of the territories including that of Bijagarh and Handia,³ which he apparently agreed to handover to the Khandesh ruler Mubarak Shah II, who in collaboration with Tufail Khan, the ruler of Berar, was helping him against the Mughals. From this time (i.e. AD. 1562) for about two years Bijagarh and Handia remained parts

1. AN, II, 166; Badaoni gave a detailed account of the atrocities committed by Pir Muhammad Khan in Burhanpur. He says that Pir Muhammad Khan behaved like Changezi [Changezi ra kar farmuda] massacring or taking prisoners the inhabitants of Burhanpur and Asir. See MUT, II, 50-51. Also see T.W. Haig, op.cit., 124; H.K. Sherwani & P.M. Joshi (ed.), op.cit., 509; Radhey Shyam, The Kingdom of Khandesh, 48. U.N. Day, Medieval Malwa, 345; Smith's Akbar the Great Mughal, Delhi, 1966, p.40.
2. AN, II, 167-68; Badaoni gives a chronogram yielding the year AH. 969 (AD. 1562) of Pir Muhammad Khan's death by drowning which reads as follows: az rah-i-ab ba atish raft [He went by water to fire (i.e. hell)] MUT, II, 50-51; See also TA, II, 156-57; Ferishta, I, 251-52.
3. MUT, II, 51-52; Ferishta, I, 251-52; U.N. Day's Medieval Malwa, 345;; Smith's Akbar, 42.

Akbar was naturally annoyed over Mubarak Shah II's role in helping Baz Bahadur against the Mughals. He was seemingly also not reconciled to the transfer of Bijagarh and Handia to Khandesh. Akbar's opposition to the incorporation of these sarkars in the Khandesh territory, seems to have stemmed partly from his perception of them as parts of Malwa territory, which from AD. 1562 onwards, was treated as an integral part of the Mughal Empire.

In AD. 1564, when Akbar came to Malwa to suppress the rebellion of Abdullah Khan Uzbek, who was accused of conspiring with the chiefs of Gujarat,² the Mughal forces also advanced into Khandesh territory to occupy Bijagarh. Although the town of Bijagarh was stoutly defended by its commandant Qazi Izzat Khan, eventually he was forced to submit to the invading Mughals.³

1. Please see appended map C. The territory of Bijagarh is located entirely to the south of Narbada river, while some parts of the territory of Handia also spreads to the north of the river Narbada. For the inference of handing over of Bijagarh and Handia to Khandesh ruler, see my paper "Khandesh state in the second half of the sixteenth century: A study of its shifting Boundaries (AD. 1562-1601)", op.cit.

2. AN, II, 221; R.P. Tripathi, Rise and Fall, op.cit., 193, Smith's Akbar, p. 53.

3. ZUW (Tr.), I, 60; T.W. Haig, op.cit., 141; Radhey Shyam, The Kingdom of Khandesh, 51.

The annexation of Bijagarh by Akbar seems to have alarmed Mubarak Shah II, who of necessity entered into negotiations with the Mughals. Akbar manipulated this situation to induce Mubarak Shah II to propose a matrimonial alliance. As soon as such a proposal came from Mubarak Shah II's side, it was promptly accepted by Akbar. while he was still at Mandu, the daughter of Mubarak Shah II was married to him.¹ Simultaneously, Mubarak Shah II transferred some more territory that originally belonged to sarkar Bijagarh to the Mughals in the form of a "dowry" to his daughter.² This apparently signified Mubarak Shah II's formal acceptance of the annexation of the entire sarkar Bijagarh to the Mughal Empire, a major part of which had already been occupied by

-
1. AN, II, 30. Abul Fazl says that Mubarak Shah II requested the Emperor that his daughter should be included into the H.M.'s harem, while Haji-ud-Dabir in ZUW (Tr.) I, 60, says that Mubarak Shah II gave his daughter to Akbar on demand, and sent her to Mandu with Akbar's envoy Itimad Khan. Also see T.W. Haig, op.cit, 141; H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (ed.), op.cit, 509-10; Radhey Shyam, The Kingdom of Khandesh, 51.
 2. ZUW, (Tr) I, 60. The translator of the text M.F. Lokhandwala uses the expression "village Handia in Bijagarh sultanate." Obviously in this passage he is misreading the word sarkar as sultanate. The name of the "Handia village" is perhaps also a misreading. Handia was in fact an important township located at a long distance to the north-east of Bijagarh, which later on became a sarkar headquarter under Akbar. Also see T.W. Haig, op.cit, 141; H.K. Sherwani & P.M. Joshi (ed.), op.cit, 510.

them a few days earlier. At the same time he also gave away the town of Handia to the Mughals as "dowry" which amounted to providing the Mughals another important foothold to the south of Narbada.¹

It is not clear whether any formal treaty was concluded between Mubarak Shah II and Akbar on this occasion.² In any case, it seems that Akbar was more than satisfied with what he had achieved. He, apparently, did not press Mubarak Shah II to accept his formal overlordship and pay a regular pesh-kash. Thus one could say that the status of the ruler of Khandesh was not changed by his giving his daughter in marriage to Akbar. But this certainly ensured Mughal support to Khandesh against its other neighbours. Obviously, this arrangement also implied that henceforth the Khandesh ruler shall not sympathise or hobnob with any power hostile to the Mughals.

It seems that following Khandesh's alliance with the Mughals in AD. 1564, its relations with some other neighbour-

1. See appended Map D, depicting the boundaries of the Kingdom of Khandesh in AD. 1572. The territories of Bijagarh and Handia has been excluded from that of the territory of Khandesh.
2. T. W. Haig, 'The Faruqi Dynasty of Khandesh', Indian Antiquary, 1918, p.141, does maintain that on this occasion Mubarak Shah II had agreed to have Friday khutba recited in Akbar's name, but the source of this information could not be traced.

ing states became visibly strained. Although, Berar continued to be friendly but Khandesh's relations with Ahmadnagar and Changez Khan's faction in Gujarat were now far from friendly. These neighbouring powers did not approve Mubarak Shah II's close alliance with Akbar, as they feared that extension of Mughal hegemony over Khandesh was a prelude to the conquest of Gujarat and Deccan plateau.

In AD. 1566, Changez Khan, a Gujarati noble, invaded Khandesh to regain Nandurbar and Sultanpur which were transferred to Khandesh by Mahmud III in AD. 1536.¹ It is possible that in taking this step Changez Khan was motivated by a design to force the new Khandesh ruler Muhammad Shah II (ascended the throne in AD. 1567) to break his alliance with the Mughals. It is significant enough that Changez Khan had chosen to attack Khandesh at a time when Akbar owing to his pre-occupation with the numerous rebellions of the Turani nobles² was not in a position to come to the help of the ruler of Khandesh. However, Muhammad Shah II, who had succeeded Mubarak Shah II in AD. 1567, succeeded in repelling

1. TA, III, 249; Ferishta, II, 287.

2. For details please see Iqtidar Alam Khan's Political Biography of a Mughal noble: Munim Khan, Khan-i-Khana (AD. 1497-1575), Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 75-95; Also see R. P. Tripathi Rise and Fall, op.cit., 198-200; Smith, Akbar, op.cit., 57-58.

Gujarati invasion with the help of Tufail Khan of Berar.¹ In AD. 1568, taking advantage of civil war that was going on in Gujarat between two powerful nobles Changez Khan and Itimad Khan, Muhammad Shah II tried to advance into Gujarat, but his attempt was frustrated by Changez Khan's prompt counter moves forcing him to retreat to Asirgarh without making any gains.² Subsequently, on Changez Khan's instigation, the Mughal fugitives in Gujarat, Muhammad Husain Mirza and Ibrahim Husain Mirza, invaded and plundered the territories of Khandesh.³

This situation, however, took a new turn with the annexation of Gujarat to the Mughal Empire. At this juncture the seemingly cordial relations between the state of Khandesh and the Mughals continuing since AD. 1564, became somewhat strained once again. This was caused by the Mughal action in unilaterally annexing the territory of Nandurbar (which included the important town of Sultanpur) and making it a

1. TA, III, 249; Ferishta, II, 287; Also see T.W. Haig, op.cit, 141; H.K. Sherwani & P.M. Joshi (ed.), op.cit, 510; Radhey Shyam The Kingdom of Khandesh, 54-55.

2. TA, III, 252; Ferishta, II, 287; T.W. Haig, op.cit, 142; H.K. Sherwani & P.M. Joshi (ed.), op.cit, 510.

3. Ferishta, II, 287; T.W. Haig, op.cit, 142.

sarkar in the Mughal suba of Gujarat.¹ The annexation of Nandurbar and Sultanpur by Mughals is borne out by Abul Fazl's statement suggesting that in AD. 1577, when Todarmal went to Gujarat for setting the revenues of that region, he started his work from Sultanpur and Nandurbar.² One might conjecture that Akbar must have justified such a unilateral step bound to hurt the pride and interests of his close ally, the ruler of Khandesh, with reference to this fact that originally this territory was a part of Gujarat Sultanate displaced by the Mughals in AD. 1572.

Muhammad Shah II had sent his brother Raja Ali Khan to meet Akbar in Gujarat in AD 1573. Although Abul Fazl simply says that Raja Ali Khan came to pay respects to Akbar,³ one may guess that his visit in some way was connected with the problem of Nandurbar. It is possible that Raja Ali Khan's real mission at this occasion was to dissuade Akbar from depriving Khandesh of the territories of Nandurbar and Sultanpur, which it was controlling since AD. 1536. Apparently, Raja Ali Khan was not successful in this mission,

1. Please see appended map D. For the inference of annexing Nandurbar and Sultanpur by Akbar, please see my paper "Khandesh state in the second half of the sixteenth century: A study of its shifting Boundaries (AD. 1562-1601), op.cit.

2. AN, III, 30.

3. AN, III, 30, 33.

which had made the Khandesh ruler bitter and resentful towards the Mughals. One might suggest that the lukewarm attitude of the ruler of Khandesh after AD. 1574 towards Mughal efforts to prevent Murtaza Nizam Shah from strengthening his hold over the newly annexed territory of Berar, was partly an outcome of the distrust that was created between them in AD. 1572.¹ Although at the time of the annexation of Berar to Ahmadnagar in AD. 1574, Muhammad Shah II had actively sided with the ruler of Berar, but subsequently, in AD. 1575, an agreement was concluded between Murtaza Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar and Muhammad Shah II of Khandesh, under which the latter scrupulously refrained from helping the nobles of Berar against Ahmadnagar authorities.²

Muhammad Shah II continued to abide by this understanding with the ruler of Ahmadnagar down to AD. 1576. During AD. 1575-76, as compared to Akbar, Muhammad Shah II was obviously close to Murtaza Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, but he took care to proceed in such a manner that the Mughals should not be provoked to attack him openly. In a way he tried to appease Akbar by not agreeing to Murtaza Nizam Shah's proposal that

1. Cf. Ferishta, II, 136; Syed Ali Tabataba's Burhan-i-Maasir, Delhi, 1936, p. 466.

2. Burhan, op.cit., 488

the nobles of Berar then staying in Khandesh to be handed over to Ahmadnagar authorities. It is, in any case, signified that he also did not accede to Mughals' proposal that he should either undertake to help the nobles of Berar against Ahmadnagar himself or allow them to cross over to Malwa for receiving military assistance from the Mughals. In not allowing the nobles of Berar to proceed to Malwa, Muhammad Shah II was not only motivated by a desire of not to provoke Murtaza Nizam Shah but he also did so because he feared that if they were allowed to proceed to Malwa and afterwards they were equipped by the Mughals there, then there would be further pressure by Mughals on him to allow a passage to this force through his territory for attacking the Ahmadnagar forces in Berar. It is possible that Akbar to a certain extent appreciated the uncertain position in which the ruler of Khandesh found himself at this time. Akbar's decision to defer his plan to attack Khandesh for its non-cooperation twice, first in AD. 1573 and next in AD. 1577¹ goes to show that he was not inclined to go to a war on this issue.

This uncertain relationship between Khandesh and the Mughals was continued for some time after AD. 1576, when Raja Ali Khan succeeded to the throne of Khandesh, the theme of which is discussed in the next chapter.

1. AN, III, 77-78; 206.

CONCLUDING REMARKS OF CHAPTER-II

This discussion may thus be concluded with the remarks that Mughal advance into Malwa resulted, on the one hand, in the annexation of Bijagarh and Handia, till then controlled by Khandesh, to the Mughal Empire. On the other hand, it also led to an alliance between the state of Khandesh and the Mughal Empire, which was underlined by Akbar's marriage with Mubarak Shah II's daughter. This alliance seems to have alarmed the rulers of Gujarat and Ahmadnagar. They perceived it as a grand Mughal design to advance into Gujarat and the Deccan plateau. On this count, apprehensions of the dominant faction of the Gujarati nobles led by Changu Khan were apparently so great that they were encouraged to adopt a hostile posture towards Khandesh. It was perhaps, aimed at forcing Khandesh to resile from its proximity to the Mughals. The struggle that ensued between the two, persisted in one form or the other down to AD. 1572. The annexation of Gujarat to the Mughal Empire in AD. 1572 appears to have given a new dimension to the inter-state relations in the Deccan plateau. Perceiving themselves in the position of the successor of the sultanate of Gujarat, the Mughals took away the territories of Nandurbar and Sultanpur from Khandesh on the possible plea that these were originally (i.e. before AD. 1536) part, of the Gujarat sultanate. This was naturally resented by the Khandesh ruler, who gave vent to this resentment not openly

but indirectly by refusing to play the Mughal game of thwarting the consolidation of Ahmadnagar administration in the territory of Berar occupied by them in AD. 1574. During the period AD. 1574-76, although both Akbar and Murtaza Nizam Shah wanted to use Khandesh state against each other, but it diplomatically kept on staling this rather uncertain situation. The ruler of Khandesh constantly tried, as far as possible, to avoid any move that might have provoked any one of his two powerful neighbours. This situation was proving to be particularly irritating for Akbar who expected that Khandesh ruler claiming to be his ally should not hesitate to cooperate with the Mughals against Ahmadnagar. But it seems that Akbar also did not fail to appreciate Muhammad Shah II's dilemma on the issue of Berar. That should partly explain why despite his mobilising forces with the ostensible aim of attacking Khandesh, Akbar did not actually invade Khandesh on this issue.

APPENDIX-C TO CHAPTER-II

Description of the Boundaries of the Khandesh state in AD. 1562:

In AD. 1562, Khandesh state exercised control over a vast territory. Apart from its original boundaries, the sarkars of Bijagarh and Handia in the north and the sarkar of Nandurbar in the west were also included in the territory of Khandesh as integral parts of the Kingdom. But by this time (AD. 1562) it had lost its influence over the territories of Baglana and Galna.¹

The ruler of Khandesh had lost its control over the territory of Baglana in AD. 1529, when Raja Bharji had shifted his allegiance to Bahadur Shah of Gujarat.² The ruler of Khandesh, Muhammad Shah II, however, did not object to this shifting of allegiance, since at that time he himself was closely allied with Bahadur Shah. The territory of Galna was lost by Khandesh to Ahmadnagar in AD. 1559-60.³

The territories of Bijagarh and Handia were invaded and occupied by the ruler of Khandesh, Mubarak Shah II, in AD.

1. Please see the appended map C.
2. Sikandari, 271-72; MA, 70. For details please see the corresponding text.
3. Ferishta, II, 122. For details please see the text.

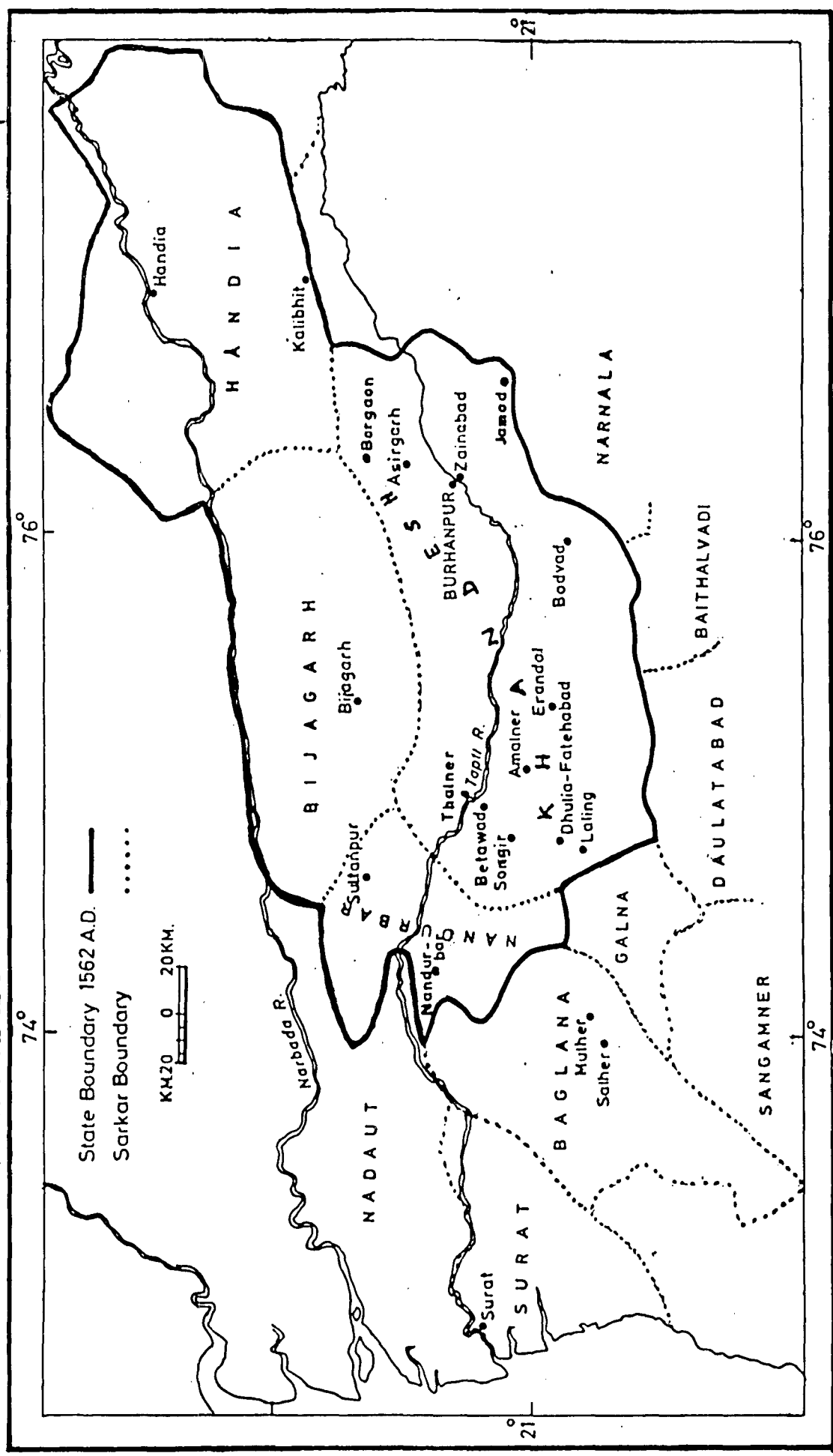
1537. Although, Khandesh state had lost these territories to Sher Shah Sur in AD. 1542-43 but it regained both these territories in AD. 1562, and thus in AD. 1562 these two sarkars were once again parts of the Khandesh state.¹ The territories of Nandurbar and Sultanpur were gained by the ruler of Khandesh as a gift from the sultan of Gujarat in AD. 1537.²

Thus in AD. 1562, the territory of the Khandesh state extended from the sarkars of Handia and Bijagarh in the north to the pargana of Laling in the south-west, and from the pargana of Jamod in the east to the confines of the sarkar of Nadaut in the west. It covered the entire territory of sarkar Nandurbar in this direction.³

1. See the appended map C. For a detailed comment on the circumstances facilitating the inclusion of these sarkars into the Khandesh territory, please see my paper "Khandesh state in the second half of the sixteenth century: A study of its shifting boundaries (AD. 1562-1601)", op.cit.

2. Ibid.

3. As Sultanpur is known to be only a pargana of the sarkar Nandurbar, one may assume that these territories actually covered the entire sarkar of Nandurbar.



APPENDIX-D TO CHAPTER II

Description of the Boundaries of the Khandesh state in AD. 1572:

In AD. 1572, the territory of Khandesh had shrunk to its original confines. It extended from Borgaon pargana in the north east to the pargana of Laling in the south-west, and from pargana of Jamod in the east to the pargana of Thalner in the west, bordering sarkar of Nandurbar, which had already been annexed to the Mughal Empire.¹

The sarkars of Bijagarh and Handia which had been surrendered to Khandesh by Baz Bahadur, sometime in AD. 1562, in return for the help extended to him by Mubarak Shah II against the Mughals. From that time, i.e. AD. 1562, onward for about two years, Bijagarh and Handia remained parts of the Khandesh state.² But Akbar was not reconciled to the inclusion of these sarkars into Khandesh. Through diplomatic manipulations he succeeded in gaining both these sarkars as "dowry" to Mubarak Shah II's daughter taken into marriage by

1. Please see the appended map D.
2. For details please see my paper "Khandesh state in the second half of the sixteenth century: A study of its shifting boundaries (AD. 1562-1601)", op.cit.

him in AD. 1564.¹

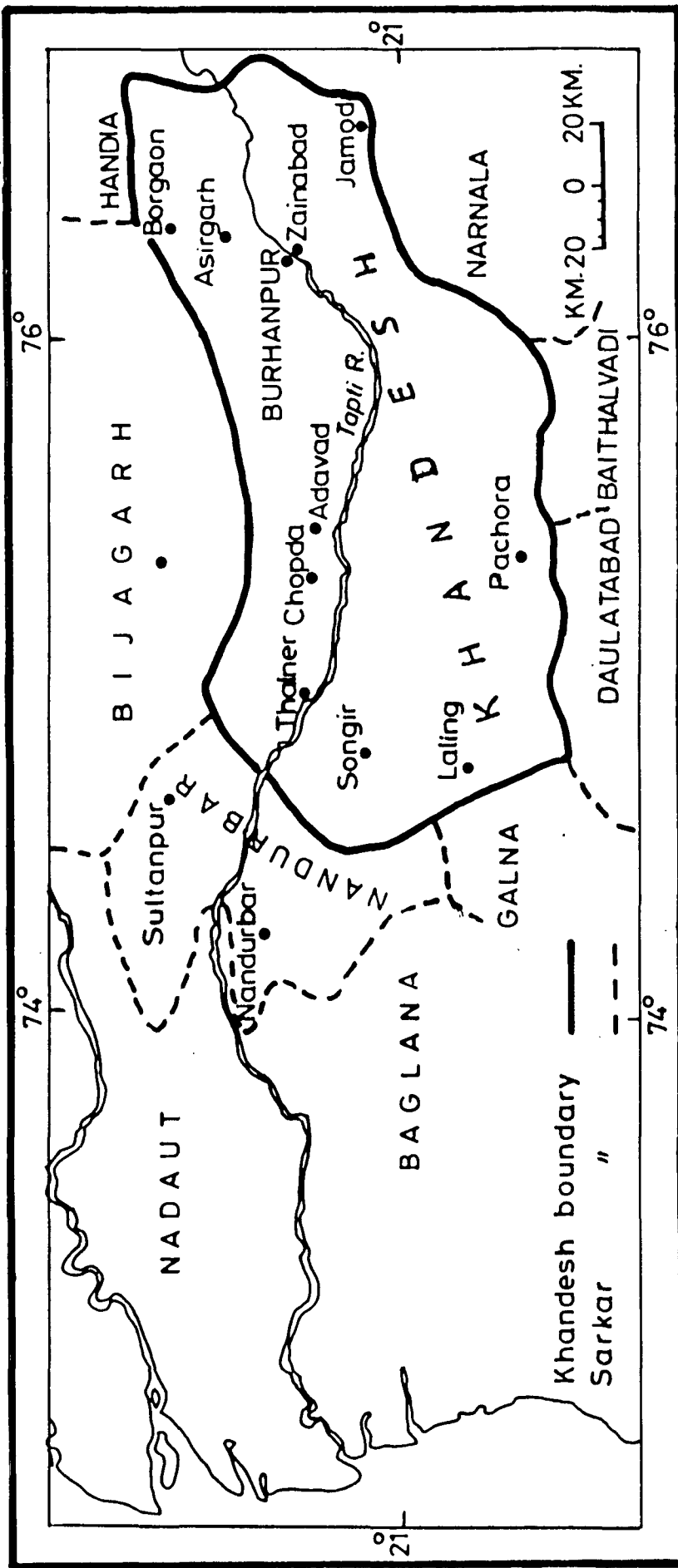
In AD. 1572, Khandesh state also lost to the Mughals the sarkar of Nandurbar, which included the important town of Sultanpur.²

1. AN, II, 230; ZUW (Tr.), I, 60.

2. See my paper Khandesh state in the second half of the sixteenth century: A study of its shifting boundaries (AD. 1562-1601), op.cit.

KHANDESH STATE A.D.1572

Map D



CHAPTER-III

**Khandesh's Relations with the Mughals,
AD. 1576-97: Uneasy alliance against Ahmadnagar**

When Muhammad Shah II died in AD. 1576, initially he was succeeded by his minor son Hasan Khan. But shortly afterwards later, Muhammad Shah II's brother, Raja Ali Khan succeeded in snatching the throne for himself. Ferishta says that at the time Muhammad Shah II fell ill, Raja Ali Khan was in Akbar's service. On hearing of his brother's illness Raja Ali Khan came to Khandesh, possibly with the permission of the Mughal Emperor, and occupied the throne after removing Hasan Khan from there.¹ Haji ud-Dabir, on the other hand, suggests Raja Ali Khan's presence in Khandesh at the time of his brother's death.² This might suggest that he had returned to Burhanpur from Agra on hearing of his brother's illness and acted to supersede his nephew a few days after the latter had been declared the king.

It seems that after coming to the throne, Raja Ali Khan wanted to defuse the tension in the Khandesh's relations with the Mughals that was growing since the annexation of Nandurbar to the Mughal Empire (AD. 1572), and annexation of Berar by Ahmadnagar (AD. 1574). According to Ferishta, Raja Ali

1. Ferishta, II, 288; Lane Pool's Mohammadan Dynasties, P.315.

2. ZUW (Tr.), I, 61; Also see T.W. Haig, op.cit., 143; H.K. Sherwani & P.M. Joshi (ed.), op.cit., 511.

Khan refrained from using the sovereign title of 'Shah' with his name and also showed his servility to Akbar by sending presents to him.¹ However, Haji-ud-Dabir's reference to Raja Ali Khan with the title Adil Shah² goes to show that he had at some later stage assumed the title 'Adil Shah for himself, which would tend to negate Ferishta's statement referred to above. But it is possible that Ferishta's statement pertained to Raja Ali Khan's attitude just after his accession, when he was perhaps eager to placate Akbar with whose tacit support he had ascended the throne. It is possible that later on, when he was not equally eager to please Akbar, he thought it fit to assume this royal title. One might conjecture that, he perhaps, did this in AD. 1577 when the relations between the Mughals and Khandesh had once again become tense over Raja Ali Khan's refusal to accept Akbar's demands relating to the nobles of Berar.³ Raja Ali Khan, however, seems to have

1. Ferishta, II, 288

2. Referring to an event of AD. 1579, when Shah Budagh Khan, the Mughal governor of Malwa demanded tribute from the ruler of Khandesh, Haji ud-Dabir calls him as Adil Shah. Referring to another event of AD. 1586, when Mirza Aziz Koka demanded a passage through the Khandesh territory, Haji-ud-Dabir again identifies him as Adil Shah. See ZUW (Tr.), I, 63.

3. Cf. AN, II, 197-98. R.P. Tripathi says that the situation had turned so tense that even the Khandesh ruler sent a strong army to strengthen the hands of the Nizam against the Mughals. See Rise and Fall, op.cit., 313-14. But it seems that R.P. Tripathi made a mistake by identifying the ruler of Khandesh as Muhammad Shah, although at this time Raja Ali Khan was ruling in Khandesh.

assumed the royal title 'Shah' some time before AD. 1584. This is borne out by a bilingual (Arabic-Sanskrit) inscription of the period (AD. 1584) in the Jama Masjid, Asirgarh, where he is referred to as Adil Shah.¹ It seems that Raja Ali Khan did not use the exalted title 'Shah' in his dealings with the Mughals, but perhaps, in his dealings with the Deccani rulers as well as within his own dominion he used the royal title 'Shah'.

Unlike his predecessors, Raja Ali Khan, despite his initial anxiety not to give offence to Akbar by not emphasising titles highlighting the Khandesh ruler's sovereign status, was apparently reluctant to continue to pay peshkash to Akbar. This had annoyed the Emperor. Towards the end of AD. 1576, a Mughal army commanded by Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan, Qutbuddin Muhammad Khan and others was sent to punish him.²

-
1. Epigraphica Indica, Arabic & Persian Supplement, (AD. 1921-30). Continuation of Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica, (1925-26), pp. 1-2. "The construction of this mosque, which is one of the meritorious acts of the age and like a mole on a beautiful face, was ordered by our Lord and Master, the Sultan, son of the Sultan, son of the Sultan, Adil Shah, son of Mubarak Shah, son of Adil Shah al-Faruqi, al-Umari, al-Adawi, may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty The construction of this mosque was commenced in the days of the Faruqiya, Adilya, on the fourth of the month of Shaban in the year AH. 992 (i.e. August, 1584 AD.), and its happy completion on the 6th of Rabi-ul-Akhir in the year AH. 996 (i.e. March, 1588 AD.).
 2. AN, III, 197-98; MUT, II, 244; TA, II, 333. Also see H.K. Sherwani & P.M. Joshi (ed.) op.cit., 512; Radhey Shyam, The Kingdom of Khandesh, 62.

This army besieged Raja Ali Khan for sometime in the fort of Asirgarh. But before this expedition could achieve its objective, it had to be diverted towards Gujarat, where Muzaffar Husain Mirza had started a rebellion against Akbar.¹ Another reason for the withdrawal of the Mughal army from Asirgarh was that dissension had broken out amongst the Mughal officers.² Qutbuddin Muhammad Khan, whose family feud with Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan dated back to the assassination of his brother Shamsuddin Atka Khan by Adham Khan in AD. 1562 at the instigation of Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan and others, separated himself from the main army and proceeded towards Broach and Baroda, where he held a jagir and which, through the rebellion of Muzaffar Husain Mirza had been thrown into confusion.³ Thus, on this occasion, the Mughal officers had no option but to be content with receiving from Raja Ali Khan whatever amount of peshkash, he was then in a position to pay.⁴

1. AN, III, 206; MUT, II, 250, TA, II, 333; Also see H.K. Sherwani & P.M. Joshi (ed.), op.cit. 512.

2. AN, III, 206.

3. MUT, II, 250; TA, II, 333; Radhey Shyam, The Kingdom of Khandesh, 62; H.K. Sherwani & P.M. Joshi (ed.) op.cit., 512.

4. MUT, II, 250.

When the Mughal army chased out Muzaffar Husain Mirza from Gujarat, he, enroute to Ahmadnagar entered Khandesh and was captured by Raja Ali Khan. There upon, Akbar sent another ultimatum to Raja Ali Khan demanding the surrender of Muzaffar Husain Mirza as well as payment of peshkash.¹ Raja Ali Khan considered this to be a favourable opportunity for defusing the tension in his relationship with the Mughals. He promptly complying with Akbar's demand sent Muzaffar Husain Mirza to the Mughal court in AD. 1578 with Akbar's envoy Maqsud Jauhari.² At this time, Raja Ali Khan was again forced to agree to the payment of annual peshkash. The instalment for the year AD. 1578 was sent through Maqsud Jauhari.³ In the heart of hearts, Raja Ali Khan was, apparently, not happy at this course of events. The new relationship with the Mughals meant Raja Ali Khan's surrendering his position as an independent ruler. Raja Ali Khan's personal bitterness with Akbar during this period is suggested by the fact of his entertaining correspondence with Mirza Aziz Koka in which the

-
1. AN, III, 261-62; MUT, II, 253; TA, II, 336; Radhey Shyam, The Kingdom of Khandesh, 63.
 2. AN, III, 261-62; MUT, II, 266; TA, II, 340; Ferishta, I, 263-64. Both Nizamuddin Ahmad and Badaoni calls the Mughal envoy as Maqsud Jauhari, while Abdul Fazl calls him Maqsud Damba.
 3. See R.P. Tripathi, Rise and Fall, op.cit., 314; H.K. Sherwani & P.M. Joshi (ed.) op.cit., 512; Radhey Shyam, The Kingdom of Khandesh, 63.

latter is reported to have used very abusive and derogatory language for Akbar. One such letter discovered by Khwaja Abul Hasan¹ at Burhanpur was given by him to Jahangir in AD. 1606. From Jahangir's reference to this letter, however, it is not clear as to what was the specific point on which Akbar was criticized in the letter by Aziz Koka.² One can only conjecture that perhaps it was Akbar's rigorous enforcement of dagh-o-chehra regulations, and the new turn that was becoming discernible in his religious policy highly disapproved by Mirza Aziz Koka and others were the issue that

-
1. The letter was produced by Khwaja Abul Hasan Turbati. See Shahmawaz Khan's Maasir-ul-Umara, Edited by Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1888, Vol. I, p. 687. He is different from Asaf Khan, the brother of Nur Jahan, who was also called Khwaja Abdul Hasan. See translator H. Beveridge's note in the translation of Maasir-ul-Umara, Patna, 1979, pp. 328-29. Khwaja Abul Hasan Turbati also held the title of Rukn-us-Sultanate and was made Diwan of the Deccan during Akbar's reign under the service of Prince Daniyal. See Maasir, I, p. 737.
 2. Jahangir simply writes in his memoirs that Khwaja Abdul Hasan had discovered a letter amongst the property and articles of Raja Ali Khan after the annexation of Khandesh. This letter was written by Mirza Aziz Koka addressed to Raja Ali Khan, in which he had used very abusive and derogatory language for Emperor Akbar. When Mirza Aziz Koka was summoned to the court and asked to read the letter loudly, he read it in the presence of nobles and expressed no shame or regret over it. Then he (Jahangir) ordered to punish him by depriving him from his jagir. See Jahangir's Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, edited by Syed Ahmad, Aligarh, 1864, p.38. Also see Maasir, I, 687.

figured in the letter.¹

Subsequently, Raja Ali Khan persisted in his attitude of not sending peshkash regularly which caused friction leading to clashes with the Mughal governor of Malwa who was apparently authorised by Akbar to collect yearly peshkash from Khandesh. One such episode happened in the very next year after the above settlement. In AD 1579, Shah Budagh Khan, the Mughal governor of Malwa, sent his son Abdul Muttalib Khan to Khandesh for demanding peshkash from Raja Ali Khan. On latter's refusal to comply with this demand, Abdul Muttalib Khan plundered the territory of Khandesh situated adjacent to Malwa. Raja Ali Khan responded to this by chasing him out of Khandesh. It was with some difficulty that Abdul Muttalib Khan succeeded in reaching Mandu after crossing the river Narbada. The Khandesh army captured the luggage and elephants left behind by Abdul Muttalib Khan. "It was a clear victory"² of Raja Ali Khan over a Mughal contingent. This event is not mentioned in any one of the Mughal chronicles,

1. In AD. 1575, Aziz Koka was degraded from the position of an amir and was confined in a garden in Agra for his opposition to the enforcement of dagh-o-chehra regulations. Cf. AN, III, 147; Also see Maasir, I, 679-80. For the next two years Aziz Koka remained in the confinement, and perhaps it was the period when he wrote the above mentioned letter to Raja Ali Khan. Aziz Koka's differences with Akbar over the religious issue and his subsequent departure to Mecca took place in the Year AD. 1592-93. Cf. AN, III, 638; Maasir, I, 683-84.

2. ZUW, (Tr.), I, 63.

neither does Ferishta make any reference to this occurrence. But the author of Zafar-ul-Walib Bi Muzaffar Wa Alihi, Haji-ud-Dabir describes it at length. He also says that Shah Budagh Khan, who was greatly shocked by his son's humiliating failure died of shame shortly later.¹ On this occasion, no reprisals followed from Mughal's side. This might be explained with reference to Akbar's preoccupation, subsequently, with the revolt of the nobles in Bihar and Bengal, which continued to rage for about two years.²

After Akbar had suppressed the rebellion in the east, he once again turned his attention towards Deccan. At this time he sent embassies to the Deccani states demanding their submission³. The sending of embassies indicated the beginning of a new phase of forcing the Deccani states to submit or face military pressure. Obviously, the immediate objective of this policy would have been securing the full and unconditional submission of Khandesh and Ahmadnagar. Decision to give shelter to Burhan in AD. 1583 was part of the pursuance of the same policy.⁴ The outbreak of dissensions among the nobles of Ahmadnagar in AD. 1584, therefore, came

1. Ibid.

2. Cf. AN, 284; 290. Also see R.P. Tripathi, Rise and Fall, op.cit., p.263

3. AN, III, 266-67; 280.

4. MUT, II, 324; T.W. Haig, op.cit., 145

as a much coveted opportunity to Akbar for intervening militarily in the affairs of Khandesh and Ahmadnagar. These events leading to the unsuccessful expeditions led by Aziz Koka in AD. 1585 were as follows: Around AD. 1584, Salabat Khan, the Nizam Shahi wazir had concentrated all powers in the central government in his own hands, there arose wide discontentment amongst the nobles against him. Among his prominent rivals were included Murtaza Khan Sabzavari, the Nizam Shahi governor of Berar and Khudavand Khan. These two jointly marched against Ahmadnagar with the aim of overthrowing the powerful wazir, but they were defeated and were obliged to take shelter in Khandesh. They appealed to Raja Ali Khan for help but were disappointed by his dilatory attitude. In utter frustration, they proceeded towards Agra after plundering suburbs of Burhanpur. Raja Ali Khan chased them upto some distance and in the course of this pursuit captured many elephants from their retinue.¹ On reaching Agra they complained to Akbar about the "ill-treatment" given to them by Raja Ali Khan. They also urged the Mughal emperor to take action against Salabat Khan.² In the meanwhile the ousted nobles of Berar, who were virtually detained in Khandesh had succeeded in reaching the Mughal territory. There

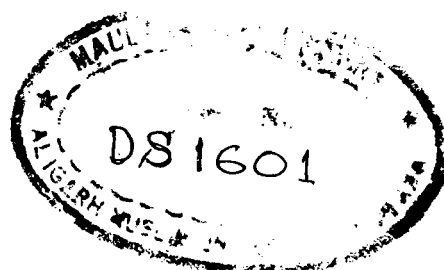
1. TA, II, 393-94; MUT, II, 343; Ferishta, II, 288. Also see T.W. Haig, op.cit., 145; Radhey Shyam, The Kingdom of Khandesh, 64.

2. Ferishta, II, 288;

presence was a constant reminder to Akbar that he must act to help them to re-establish themselves in Berar. These circumstances together persuaded Akbar to make a major military move towards the Deccan. He sent a message to Raja Ali Khan to surrender and return the goods plundered by him from Murtaza Khan Sabzavari's and Khundavand Khan's retinue, which he promptly complied with. From the prompt compliance of Akbar's demand by Raja Ali Khan, it would appear that at this time he was neither in a position nor willing to fight the Mughals. But at the same time he was certainly not prepared to allow a Mughal expedition proceeding towards Ahmadnagar to pass through his territory. Till this time he had continued to stick to a policy of not taking sides in the Mughal Ahmadnagar confrontation. This policy was basically designed to preserve the territorial integrity of Khandesh. But in the face of the Akbar's expansionist designs with regards to Deccan states by now, it was becoming more and more difficult for him to maintain neutrality.

In AD. 1585, Akbar appointed Mirza Aziz Koka as governor of Malwa and directed him to take steps to help the ousted nobles of Ahmadnagar and Berar.¹ Many other distinguished officials were also appointed with him to assist him in his operations. Simultaneously, Mir Fathullah Shirazi was

1. AN, III, 489; TA, 383-84.



deputed to advise Raja Ali Khan to assist this Mughal army in its operations against Ahmadnagar.¹ Mirza Aziz Koka at this occasion made Handia his headquarter, from where he planned to launch his operations. At this occasion outwardly, Raja Ali Khan was supporting the Mughals², but in reality his sympathies lay with Ahmadnagar as he fully realised that Mughal advances into Berar and Ahmadnagar would without fail, be preceded by entry of Mughal forces on a massive scale into the Khandesh territory.

In AD. 1586, Aziz Koka demanded from Raja Ali Khan a passage through his territory for the Mughal army to attack Ahmadnagar. Raja Ali Khan responded to this demand by pointing out that the passage of such a large force across Khandesh would devastate his small kingdom. He suggested that it would be better if the Mughal army proceeded to Ahmadnagar through Kherla in north-eastern Berar.³ But Aziz Koka rejected this suggestion.⁴ Thus Raja Ali Khan was left with no other alternative but to seek an alliance with Murtaza Nizam Shah I, the ruler of Ahmadnagar.⁵ While outwardly all the

1. AN, III, 464; TA, II, 383-84; MUT, II, 360-62; Ferishta, II, 288; ZUW (Tr.), I, 63-64; Burhan, 550.

2. Burhan, 550.

3. ZUW (Tr), I, 63-64. Also See T.W. Haig, op.cit., 145.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

time pretending to be supporting the Mughals, Raja Ali Khan ensured Fathullah Shirazi's departure from Burhanpur by giving the latter a false impression to the effect that a Nizam Shahi army had arrived in the vicinity of his capital and was planning to capture the Mughal envoy and his retinue.¹ Fathullah Shirazi hurriedly left Burhanpur for Handia without completing his mission.²

Meanwhile, in the Mughal camp at Handia, serious dissension had broken out amongst the nobles present in the army, Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan, having differences with Aziz Koka, left the Mughal camp and went to his jagir in Raisin.³ After Fathullah Shirazi's arrival in Aziz Koka's camp these dissensions became sharper. Aziz Koka, who was not on good terms with Fathullah Shirazi, denounced him for the failure of his mission. Fathullah Shirazi in turn greatly resented the arrogant attitude of Aziz Koka towards him. In disgust, he left Handia with his retainers and proceeded to Gujarat.⁴ This started the process of large scale desertion from the

-
1. The author of Zafar-ul-Walih Bi Muzaffar wa Alihi says that Raja Ali Khan sent this message with his wazir Asaf Khan. See ZUW (Tr.), I, 63-64. While the author of Burhan-i-Maasir, Syed Ali Tabataba simply says that a man was sent with the message to Fathullah Shirazi, see Burhan, 550
 2. AN, III, 489; MUT, II, 360-62; TA, II, 383-84, Ferishta, I, 265 Burhan, 550
 3. See MUT, 360-62, Also see Burhan, 550.
 4. MUT, II, 360-62; Burhan, 550.

Mughal camp making Aziz Koka's position desperate. In a valiant bid to save the situation Aziz Koka set out to invade Berar and sacked the towns of Balapur and Ellichpur.¹ The commencement of the Mughal invasion of Berar hastened the conclusion of an alliance between Khandesh and Ahmadnagar. The joint forces of the two states were led by Raja Ali Khan, who was assisted by Mirza Muhammad Taqi, the Nizam Shahi commander.² The news of this alliance and mobilization of the joint forces of Khandesh and Ahmadnagar for facing the invading Mughal army panicked Aziz Koka. Even before this news came, he was not too sure of his success on account of prevailing dissension among the Mughal officers. He was now convinced of not being in a position to face the Deccanis. Of necessity Aziz Koka retreated to Handia and from there proceeded towards Nandurbar. His intention was to reach Gujarat in the shortest possible time for seeking help from Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana, the Mughal governor of Gujarat.³ He

-
1. Ferishta, I, 265; II, 289; T.W. Haig, op.cit., 145; Radhey Shyam, The Kingdom of Khandesh, 66.
 2. AN, III, 489; MUT, II, 360-62, Ferishta, I, 265; II, 288; Burhan, 549. Raja Ali Khan had already sought the assistance of Murtaza Nizam Shah I, See ZUW (Tr.), I, 63-64. Also see T.W. Haig, op.cit. 145; Radhey Shyam, The Kingdom of Khandesh, 66-67.
 3. AN, III, 489-90; TA, II, 383-84; Ferishta, I, 265; II, 289; ZUW (Tr.), I, 64-66; Burhan, 551. However Abdul Fazl says that Mir Abu Turab wali was sent to meet the Deccanis to discuss about a peace arrangement. Deccanis were happy on this and sent peshkash. See AN, III, 489-90.

was reinforced by Khan-i-Khana but as the rainy season was approaching, the Deccani allied forces as well as the Mughals withdrew to their respective places.¹

After this humiliating experience, for the next two years the Mughals desisted from making another military move in the Deccan. But in AD. 1588, the situation in Ahmadnagar kingdom suddenly took a dramatic turn which again persuaded the Mughals to intervene there. This new situation compelled Raja Ali Khan also to get involved in the move initiated by the Mughals. It was in AD. 1588, that Murtaza Nizam Shah I, was murdered by his son Husain, who in turn was murdered a few months later by a powerful group of the nobles, led by Jamal Khan, who raised to the throne Ismail, son of Burhan, then a refugee at Akbar's court. These developments in Ahmadnagar prompted Akbar to make another attempt to extend his sway over that kingdom. He recalled Burhan-ul-Mulk from Tirah, where he was serving against the Afghan rebels, and asked him to proceed to Deccan for seizing Ahmadnagar throne. At the same time, Akbar also directed Aziz Koka, the governor of Malwa, and Raja Ali Khan to assist Burhan in his efforts to establish himself at Ahmadnagar.²

1. TA, II, 385; ZUW(Tr.), I, 66, Burhan, 551

2. AN, III, 538-39; 587; TA, III, 75; Ferishta, II, 151; ZUW (Tr.), I, 66.

In his first attempt, Burhan failed to secure for himself much support among the Ahmadnagar nobles.¹ Possibly one reason why he failed in his attempt was his decision to enter Berar only with his own contingent of 1000 troops refusing to take with him the force offered to him by the Mughal authorities. He, apparently, decided on this course on the assumption that the people in Berar and Ahmadnagar would resent his going there at the head of a Mughal force. Moreover capturing of the Ahmadnagar throne with the help of a Mughal force would have also implied the acceptance of Akbar's overlordship by Burhan in case of his becoming the king of Ahmadnagar which he perhaps wanted to avoid.

After the failure of this first attempt, Burhan was able to perceive that he could establish himself at Ahmadnagar only with the help of a friendly power. Therefore, next year, i.e. in AD. 1591, he sought Raja Ali Khan's assistance in his second attempt to capture Ahmadnagar's throne. Raja Ali Khan, who at this time, was co-operating with the Mughals was ready to help Burhan in pursuance of Akbar's directives to that effect. But the great interest shown by him at this occasion in trying to help Burhan in different ways go to show that his enthusiastic support for Burhan went much beyond the limits complying with Akbar's directions. It is

1. AN, III, 587; Ferishta, II, 151; H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (ed.) op.cit., 514; Radhey Shyam, The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar, 209.

obvious that Raja Ali Khan regarded the installation of a competent ruler at Ahmadnagar as early as possible the safest guarantee against a possible Mughal advance, into the Deccan, which he was obviously so anxious to avoid. For ensuring Burhan's success in Ahmadnagar, Raja Ali Khan also tried to secure the co-operation of the ruler of Bijapur. He entered into a correspondence with Ibrahim Adil Shah II and eventually succeeded in securing the latter's co-operation in his efforts to instal Burhan on the throne of Ahmadnagar. As, Raja Ali Khan and Burhan jointly attacked Ahmadnagar from north, an Adil Shahi army invaded Ahmadnagar from south.¹ Jamal Khan, the Wazir of Ahmadnagar, was greatly perturbed by this concerted attack from two sides. After some initial dithering, he ultimately decided first to face the Adil Shahi army advancing against him from the south. Jamal Khan succeeded in defeating Adil Shahi army at Naldrug.² But by the time he returned Ahmadnagar, Raja Ali Khan and Burhan had advanced as far as Rohandkhed, a small town in southern Berar. As this became known in Jamal Khan's camp, the nobles and troops started deserting his army, that weakened his position even before the army led by him came face to face with the invading army. In this force, Raja Ali Khan's troops formed the greater part of the combined army, which also

1. AN, III, 587.

2. Ibid

included Burhan's contingent as well as a small body of the Mughal horseman. In the battle that was fought between the two armies at Rohankhed, Burhan by agreement with Raja Ali Khan stood aside. He issued instructions to his contingent not to intervene in the fight unless Raja Ali Khan was losing the ground. Consequently, it were the Khandesh troops led by Raja Ali Khan who did most of the fighting in the battle of Rohankhed in which Jamal Khan was defeated and killed. One could, thus, say that it was Raja Ali Khan who was chiefly instrumental in installing Burhan on the throne of Ahmadnagar.¹

After Jamal Khan's defeat in the battle of Rohankhed, Burhan ascended the Ahmadnagar throne and assumed the title Burhan Nizam Shah II. Subsequently, Raja Ali Khan returned back to Burhanpur after stationing some of his troops at Ahmadnagar for assisting Burhan.²

It may be noticed at this point that by co-operating with the Mughals and assisting Burhan in his efforts to secure the throne of Ahmadnagar, at this occasion Raja Ali Khan had temporarily made his position quite unassailable. This, on the one hand gained him the good will of the Mughal

1. AN, III, 587; TA, III, 75; Ferishta, II, 151. T.W. Haig, op.cit., 147; H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (ed.), op.cit., 514; Radhey Shyam, The Kingdom of Khandesh, 69.

2. AN, III, 587.

imperial authority, and on the other hand, presence of a friendly Ahmadnagar kingdom ruled by a competent ruler assured him of effective help and protection in the possible eventuality of Mughals renewing their military pressure against him. One could, thus, say that by becoming a willing ally of Akbar, on this occasion, Raja Ali Khan on the one hand managed to save his small kingdom from being over run by a Mughal army that would have certainly come to help Burhan. And on the other hand, he was also able to strengthen his position vis-a-vis the other Deccani states, particularly Ahmadnagar. It is, therefore, understandable that during next four years, i.e. down to AD. 1595, Mughal relations with the state of Khandesh were exceptionally cordial.

Akbar, however, was greatly disappointed by the subsequent behaviour of Burhan, for his behaving like an independent ruler and for his not sending the agreed peshkash after occupying the Nizam Shahi throne.¹ It could be argued that Burhan Nizam Shah II was not inclined to acknowledge Akbar's overlordship and other commitment made by him to the Mughal emperor before leaving Agra in AD. 1589, as he had occupied the Ahmadnagar throne without using the forces placed at his disposal by the Mughal authorities. By contrast, his attitude towards Raja Ali Khan during the same

1. AN, III, 596-97.

period was particularly warm and friendly. He fully recognised that without Raja Ali Khan's assistance it could have been nearly impossible for him to ascend the throne of Ahmadnagar. This closeness and friendship between Burhan and Raja Ali Khan was noted at the Mughal court and Akbar tried to use Raja Ali Khan's influence on Burhan for persuading him to abide by the promises that he had made to the Mughals at the time of his leaving Agra in AD. 1589.

In AD. 1591, Akbar sent Sheikh Faizi to Khandesh asking Raja Ali Khan to give proper advice to Burhan and to persuade him to acknowledge his suzerainty. Simultaneously, three ambassadors, namely, Khwaja Aminuddin, Mir Muhammad Amin and Mir Munir were sent to the rulers of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda respectively.¹ In the message which these envoys carried, Akbar promised to the Deccan rulers that if they agreed to submit to him, they would be allowed to continue to hold their territories. But in case of their refusal to submit, they were threatened with the march of the Mughal armies for dislodging them from their territories.²

It seems, from this time onwards, Akbar was giving more and more importance to the task of achieving his aims in the

1. AN, III, 596-97; TA, II, 412; MUT, II, 377; Ferishta, I, 267. Also see R.P. Tripathi, Rise and Fall, 319; Radhey Shyam, The Kingdom of Khandesh, 70.

2. AN, III, 596-97.

Deccan. He began preparations for invading the Deccan plateau. According to Abul Fazl, Akbar appointed Prince Murad as the governor of Malwa at this time, with the order that, in case the four embassies sent to the Deccan were not successful, then he (Murad) should be prepared to advance into the Deccan.¹

In AD. 1593, the four ambassadors returned from the four Deccani states without achieving anything worthwhile. However, Faizi's mission to Khandesh proved to be successful to some extent. But in Ahmadnagar, where he had gone after finishing his task in Khandesh, he proved to be a failure.² Raja Ali Khan had offered his submissions. He also gave the hand of one of his daughters in marriage to Prince Salim.³ But Burhan Nizam Shah II, who had received several favours from the Mughal emperor during his refuge at the Mughal court, did not send any peshkash, neither offered submission to the Mughal emperor.⁴ The presents that he sent to Akbar through Faizi were considered ridiculously small and cheap,

-
1. Cf. AN, III, 597-98, "His Majesty's idea was that if the rulers of the Deccan were not impressed by the good advices, punishment should be prepared for them".
 2. AN, III, 639, 644. About his successful mission to Khandesh, Faizi gives a detailed account in his Waqiat, see E&D, VI, 147-49.
 3. AN, III, 639, 644.
 4. Ibid. Also see MUT, II, 389.

fifteen elephants, some fabrics of Deccan and a few jewels.¹ By not offering the peshkash and submission on this occasion, Burhan Nizam Shah II clearly indicated that he was not willing to compromise his status as the sovereign ruler of Ahmadnagar. He seems to have persisted in the same course that his predecessor, Murtaza Nizam Shah I, had adopted in his relations with the Mughals. This attitude of Burhan greatly annoyed Akbar, who decided to make a show of strength against Ahmadnagar by ordering large scale mobilization of forces in Malwa.

Sometime in AD. 1593, Prince Daniyal was nominated the commander of the army mobilized in Malwa purported for invading Ahmadnagar. Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana, Rai Ray Singh, Shahrukh Mirza, Shahbaz Khan and other senior officers were asked to accompany the Prince on this impending expedition.² After a few months through another order, Prince Daniyal was exempted from doing this service. In his place, Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana was made the overall commander of

1. TA, II, 423. Also see TA in E&D, V, 467-68.

2. AN, III, 646-47; MUT, II, 389; TA, II, 423-24. Also TA in E&D, V, 467-68.

the army in Malwa.¹ But it is significant that this army did not commence its march down to AD. 1595. When the Mughals were invited to intervene in Ahmadnagar by one of the factions of Ahmadnagar nobles after Burhan's death on 5th April, 1596. From this one can see that as long as Burhan was alive, despite Akbar's warlike postures, he was reluctant to actually march his armies into Ahmadnagar. The mobilization of the army in Malwa, in AD. 1593, was perhaps aimed at threatening Burhan rather than for actually marching into Deccan without further delay. The actual march into the Deccan was made possible only by the developments at Ahmadnagar following Burhan's death in AD. 1596.

Burhan Nizam Shah II was succeeded by his son Ibrahim², who in turn was killed in a battle with the Bijapuri forces within a few months of coming to the throne.³ Following Ibrahim's removal from the scene, the nobles of Ahmadnagar came to be divided into several factions led by Chand Bibi, Miyan Manjhu, Ikhlas Khan and Abhang Khan respectively. Each

-
1. TA, II, 424. Also see TA, E&D, 467-68. Abul Fazl also writes that an order was also sent to Prince Murad (at that time the governor of Gujarat) to make preparations for the conquest of the Deccan, and that when the soldiers had been gathered together from every side, near him, he should carry out the order". See AN, III, 646-47.
 2. AN, III, 667-68; R.P. Tripathi, Rise and Fall, 320; Radhey Shyam, The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar, 214.
 3. AN, III, 669-70; R.P. Tripathi, Rise and Fall, 320; Radhey Shyam, The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar, 245.

one of these factions put up their own protege as the candidate for the throne. Thus, there came into the field four claimants to the Nizam Shahi throne. The forces at Ahmadnagar proper were so evenly divided between two of these contenders that they ran for sometime, simultaneously, two administrations at the capital, one inside the fort under the control of Chand Bibi, and the other outside the fort, under the control of Abhang Khan and Ikhlas Khan. Failing to gain an upper hand at Ahmadnagar, Miyan Manjhu, leader of one of the factions, in a despair bid invited Prince Murad to assist him in gaining control of the administration.¹ For the Mughals, this was obviously a long awaited opportunity. Prince Murad and Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana, as soon as they received Miyan Manjhu's appeal, moved promptly towards Ahmadnagar with a large force. One may assume that they should have acted on this occasion only after obtaining the Emperor's concurrence.

To be ensure of Raja Ali Khan;s willing co-operation in the planned military operations in Ahmadnagar, Akbar ordered that the territory of Nandurbar should be returned to him.² Already by this time Raja Ali Khan had renewed his submis-

1. Ferishta, II, 159.

2. AN III, 697; ZUW (Tr.) , I, 71; Also see my paper "Khandesh state in the second half of the sixteenth century: A study of its shifting boundaries (AD 1562-1601)"op.cit.

sion to the Mughal Emperor and this relationship was further reinforced by the marriage of his daughter to Prince Salim.¹ Now Raja Ali Khan joined the Mughals in their campaign.² Returning of Nandurbar to Khandesh should have further cemented these ties.

From the Mughal point of view the siege of Ahmadnagar did not progress satisfactorily. It was so partly owing to the dissension in the imperial army, of which the hostility between Prince Murad and Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana was the most conspicuous aspect. Chand Bibi, who acted as the regent of the infant ruler Bahadur, took advantage of these dissensions. Under her leadership the Ahmadnagar troops strongly defended the fort.³ Since Raja Ali Khan, despite his close ties with the Mughals at this time, was not reconciled to the idea of the total destruction of the Deccan kingdoms, tried to help the garrison of the fort of Ahmadnagar to hold on to their position. When it was found out by the Mughal officers that he was helping the garrison, Raja Ali Khan was removed by Prince Murad's order from the position that he commanded. This fact has been particularly noted by the chronicler of

1. AN, III, 639.

2. AN, III, 698-99; Ferishta, I, 269; II, 289; ZUW (Tr.) I, 71.

3. AN, III, 699-700

Ahmadnagar, Sayyid Ali Tabataba.¹

However, the garrison of the fort under Chand Bibi were not in a position to continue to resist the Mughal pressure indefinitely. Ultimately they proposed a peace treaty on 23rd February AD. 1596. It seems that, by this time Prince Murad had also grown anxious about his own position. Because at this time a Bijapuri force under Suhail Khan had also marched to help the garrison in Ahmadnagar and to oppose the Mughal army.² In view of the persisting dissensions in his camp and the threat posed by the forces advancing from the side of Bijapur, he was inclined to end the operations as early as possible.³ Before as soon as Chand Bibi proposed a peace treaty, the offer was promptly accepted by Prince Murad.

The terms of the treaty agreed to by Murad and Khan-i-Khana were to the effect that (a) Bahadur shall be recognized

-
1. Cf. Burhan, 612. "Traditions of old friendship of Raja Ali Khan, ruler of Khandesh, still remained and he maintained an uninterrupted intercourse with those within the fort, so that they were enabled by his means, to introduce any supplies that they might require, and occasionally when a body of gunners came from the other forts in the kingdom to reinforce those in Ahmadnagar, they were able to enter the fortress by the connivance of Raja Ali Kha, and greatly strengthened the defence."
 2. Ferishta, II, 160.
 3. Ibid, II, 162. Also see Burhan, 625

as the ruler of Ahmadnagar,¹ (b) he would accept Akbar's overlordship , (c) the territory of Berar shall be ceded to the Mughals, and (d) the Ahmadnagar authorities shall also give other valuable gifts to Akbar.²

There is no mention in the sources of Raja Ali Khan playing a role in arranging the peace treaty between Ahmadnagar and the Mughals in AD 1596. It may be presumed that perhaps he was not included in the negotiations that preceded the treaty. The reason behind his exclusion might have been that Murad being already suspicious of his attitude on this occasion, did not consider it politic to trust him in matters concerning the Ahmadnagar garrison. It is possible that he was also suspected by Chand Bibi on account of his alliance with the Mughals and help that he extended to them during the current campaign. Raja Ali Khan's motives had become to be suspected by both the parties to the dispute at this crucial juncture. From the attitude of Raja Ali Khan at this occasion, it may be conjectured that perhaps, despite his alliance with the Mughals, he still hoped to contrive a situation where Mughals would allow the Nizam Shahi state to exist unmolested once it was forced to pay a formal

-
1. Abul Fazl writes that "the territory of Ahmadnagar would be given as iqta to Bahadur and he would be made a servant of the Mughal court. "See AN, III, 699-700. Abul Fazl's statement indicate that as if the territory of Ahmadnagar was a part of the Mughal empire.
 2. AN, III, 699-700; Ferishta, II, 162.

allegiance to Akbar. But the turn of events dashed Raja Ali Khan's hope of keeping the Mughals away from annexing any parts of Berar and Ahmadnagar which was bound to undermine the territorial integrity of Khandesh.

In the meanwhile, even after the conclusion of a peace treaty, the struggle between the Nizam Shahi officers and the Mughal occupational forces continued. The Nizam Shahi officers, after being reinforced by a Bijapuri army, deferred from their earlier stand and were determined not to let the Mughals to occupy the territory of Berar which was ceded to the Mughals under the terms of the treaty. Eventually a battle was fought between the Mughals and the Deccani allied forces at the town of Ashti near Pathri on 8th February AD 1597. Raja Ali Khan, who was in alliance with the Mughals was killed in the battlefield while fighting against the Deccani forces.¹ When the Mughals did not find any trace of Raja Ali Khan, concluded that either he had fled from the field or deserted to join the Deccani alliance. Suspecting his loyalty, they consequently plundered the camp of Raja Ali Khan.² However, next day his dead body was found amongst the dead, the Mughals realized their mistake and restored his

1. AN, III, 717-20; Ferishta, II, 163; 289; ZUW (TR.) I, 72-73; Faizi Sirhindi's AN E&D, VI, 131-32.

2. AN III, 717-20.

banners, kettle-drums etc.¹, The body of Raja Ali Khan was taken to Burhanpur and buried there with full honour.² Although the Mughals had realized their mistake of plundering Raja Ali Khan's camp, and they still hoped to continue a cordial relationship with Khandesh by restoring his banners and burying him with full honnour, but it was too late, and the strain in the Mughal-Khandesh relationship increased after the death of Raja Ali Khan.

Concluding remarks of Chapter III

This discussion may thus be concluded with the remarks, that the relationship established between the Mughal Empire and the state of Khandesh did not improve remarkably during this period i.e. AD.1576-97. Although Raja Ali Khan's predecessors had accepted a somewhat subordinate position under Akbar, but his conscience did not allow him to become a vassal of the Mughal Emperor, rather he tried to keep normal friendship ties with the Mughals. But he could never succeed in his efforts to remain neutral, due to the various turns in the affairs of Ahmadnagar. Whenever Akbar wanted to interfere in the internal affairs of Ahmadnagar, he always sought Raja Ali Khan's active participation in his endeavours. Out of necessity Raja Ali Khan, too, helped Akbar but his true

1. Ibid.

2. ZUW (Tr.), I, 72-73.

sympathies were always with the Deccani states. In AD. 1586, he even organized a Deccani alliance to thwart the Mughal attempt to establish their sway in the Deccan plateau. But since Deccani powers were not united among themselves, he ultimately had to be content in becoming an ally of the Mughals in their conquest of the Deccan.

However, Raja Ali Khan was only outwardly supporting the Mughals in the siege of Ahmadnagar, and secretly connived to help the garrison of the fort. But, by now his position had become suspect in both the camps and nobody trusted him fully. He even gave his life in AD. 1597 fighting on the Mughal's side, but the Mughals suspected his loyalty and they plundered his camp. Thus, during the whole reign of Raja Ali Khan, the relationship between the Mughals and the state of Khandesh was not very cordial. Although Mughals had succeeded somewhat in their aim of penetrating into the Deccan, they were not able to consolidate their position during this period.

Ever since his accession to the throne, Raja Ali Khan made every attempt to save his kingdom from the imperial power. Although throughout his life he pursued a dubious policy, but it was the pressing necessity of the time and of

the critical circumstances which necessitated his not coming into open conflict with the Mughals. Otherwise his stern attitude could have resulted in the extinction of his kingdom much earlier.

CHAPTER-IV

Circumstances leading to the annexation
of Khandesh to the Mughal Empire:
AD. 1597-AD. 1601.

After the death of Raja Ali Khan, his son Qadar Khan succeeded him on the throne of Khandesh at Asirgarh and assumed the title of Bahadur Shah.¹ At the time of Raja Ali Khan's death, Qadar Khan was imprisoned in the fort of Asirgarh.² After his accession, Bahadur Shah inherited his father's misgivings about the usefulness of Khandesh's alliance with the Mughals. He, apparently, could never forget the unfounded suspicion cast by the Mughal authorities on his father's fidelity after he was killed fighting on the side of the Mughals. What he resented with particular bitterness was the plunder of his father's camp by the Mughals after he was reported missing in the battle. His relations with the Mughals, consequently, became strained. He found it difficult to offer whole hearted support to Akbar's moves in the Deccan. This was reflected in his did not sending customary peshkash to the Mughal Emperor at the time

1. Ferishta, II, 289; ZUW (Tr.), I, 73.

2. It was an established practice in the Khandesh kingdom that the ruling monarchs kept their sons, brothers and other male members of the ruling family in confinement. This was to guard against any possible attempt at capturing the throne by a rival prince. These unhappy persons, with their wives and families, often passed all their entire lives in confinement. Bahadur Shah had lived in confinement nearly thirty years and thus "know nothing whatever of the ways of the world, and the business of government." Cf. AN of Faizi Sirhindi, E & D, VI, 134. See also AN, III, 779.

of ascending the throne.¹

In any case, the Mughals on their part appeared to be very anxious to continue their alliance with the Khandesh state despite the rather reticent attitude of Bahadur Shah, the new ruler of Khandesh. Akbar is reported to have responded to Bahadur Shah's withholding of customary peshkash by sending an envoy, Mir Sadr Jahan, to give "good counsels" to him. Though Bahadur Shah received the Mughal envoy with respect, but did not pay any heed to the advice given to him on this occasion.² Despite the intransigent attitude of Bahadur Shah, the Mughal military authorities in Deccan continued to have a very conciliatory attitude towards him which they would have adopted only at the direction of the central authority.

Prince Murad was, at this time, campaigning in the Deccan alongwith Khan-i-Khana against Ahmadnagar nobles. He promptly sent a message of condolence and consolations to Bahadur Shah on the death of his father. He also sent congratulations to him on his accession to the throne of Khandesh.³ Despite Bahadur Shah's not sending peshkash to the Mughal court, Murad went out of his way to invite Bahadur

1. AN of Faizi Sirhindi, E & D, VI, 134-35

2. Ibid.

3. ZUW (Tr.), I, 73

Shah to visit the Mughal Camp at Shahpur.¹ This was a move aimed at inducing him to pay formal respects to the Mughal prince. But it seems that Bahadur Shah was very averse to responding favourably to these gestures from the Mughal side. On each occasion that he received an invitation from Murad, he evaded accepting it on one pretext or the other.² One of the excuses, which perhaps, Bahadur Shah put forward for not being able to go to meet the Mughal prince was that, then he did not possess a sufficient contingent which could accompany him on this visit. This is suggested by a statement in Haji-ud-Dabir's account to the effect that eventually for modifying Bahadur Shah's feelings, Murad had placed at his disposal a contingent of four thousand troops.³ One might imagine that in making this particular pretext Bahadur Shah was reminding the Mughal prince indirectly of the losses that the Khandesh troops had suffered first in assisting the Mughals during their military operations against Ahmadnagar nobles and then also as a consequence of the plundering of the Khandesh army's camp by the Mughals after Raja Ali Khan was reported missing. Later on, when Murad not only offered

-
1. Cf. Ferishta, I, 269-70. After the ratification of the treaty with Ahmadnagar in AD 1596, Prince Murad and Khan-i-Khana had went to Berar, and there they established a new towship near Balapur and named it Shahpur (20°N, 76°E).
 2. ZUW (Tr.), I, 73.
 3. Ibid.

to place a contingent of four thousand troops under his daughters, Bahadur Shah was persuaded to visit Shahpur for paying his respects to the prince.¹ Although Haji-ud- Dabir, who narrates these events does not give the exact timing of Bahadur Shah's going to meet Murad at Shahpur but from the sequence of events reported by Abul Fazl in Akbarnama, one might imagine that this development took place some time before the removal of Prince Murad from the Deccan in May, AD. 1599.

Abul Fazl, who had been appointed by Akbar to the command of the Mughal forces in the Deccan, on his route to Shahpur, arrived in the vicinity of Burhanpur in May, AD. 1599. He halted at Burhanpur briefly as he was commissioned to meet and pacify Bahadur Shah and solicit his support for the impending Mughal invasion of Ahmadnagar. On this occasion Bahadur Shah came out for four kos from Asirgarh and received Abul Fazl respectfully.² Akbar had sent a khilat and a letter for Bahadur Shah with Abul Fazl which was received by the Khandesh ruler with customary humility. He also requested Abul Fazl to stay at Burhanpur and be his guest for some days.³ But, Abul Fazl insisted on continuing his march to join Murad as early as possible. He was, in any case, com-

1. Ibid.

2. AN, III, 751-52.

3. Ibid.

pelled to stay there for a few days due to heavy rains. During these days Bahadur Shah remained with him. He urged Bahadur shah to act as a guide in the Mughal campaigns in the Deccan, but Bahadur Shah evaded to do so. In place of personally joining Abul Fazl, he deputed a contingent of two thousand troops under his son Kabir Khan to accompany the Mughal noble. Bahadur Shah further tried to pacify Abul Fazl's feelings, disturbed by his refusal to personally joining the expedition, by asking him to visit his place and be his personal guest.¹ Abul Fazl made his acceptance of this offer of hospitality conditional on Bahadur Shah's agreeing to accompany him on his expedition. Subsequently, Bahadur Shah wanted to give valuable gifts to Abul Fazl personally, but the latter refused to accept them.²

It is obvious that Bahadur Shah avoided joining the Mughal army in the conquest of the Deccan on this occasion, as he was still resentful of the fact that it had plundered the camp of his father after he was killed in the battle. He, apparently, no longer trusted the Mughals. Besides, there was no guarantee that they would leave his small kingdom intact after occupying Ahmadnagar. It is, therefore, understandable that like his father Bahadur Shah should also have not looked

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

with favour at the Mughal expansionist drive in the Deccan. This would explain his refraining from joining the expedition against Ahmadnagar. At the same time he also realized that on his own he was not in a position to resist the Mughal army. In this situation, he had no option but to placate the Mughals by sending a token force of two thousand troops under his son to accompany Abul Fazl.

It was sometime during this period that Bahadur Shah developed a total dislike for the town of Burhanpur, as it had virtually passed under the Mughals. The Mughals were already treating it virtually as part of the Mughal Empire, and were using it as one of the bases of their operations in the Ahmadnagar territory.¹ In his frustration, Bahadur Shah decided to raze to the ground the buildings and palaces of Burhanpur and to build with its material a new city, at the banks of the river Tapti, which he proposed to name Bahadurpur.² But the people of Burhanpur protested and objected to the destruction of Burhanpur, which had been founded in the honour of Sheikh Burhanuddin and was named after him. Then Bahadur Shah denied that he had any intention of destroying Burhanpur, however, he continued the construction of Bahadurpur (21°N, 76°E), and when it was

-
1. Abul Fazl says that when the Emperor himself arrived in the Deccan, the charge of Khandesh was given to him (i.e. Abul Fazl). See AN, III, 769-70.
 2. Ferishta, II, 289; ZUW (Tr.), I, 74.

completed he gave a great feast.¹ After the completion of the new city, Bahadur Shah became emboldened to come out openly against the Mughals. He started making preparations for resisting them militarily and appeared determined to oppose the advance of the Mughal forces into the Deccan.

In the meanwhile, before Abul Fazl could reach the Mughal camp at Shahpur, Murad died (May, AD 1599) due to excessive drinking. Shortly afterwards Daniyal was appointed to the formal command of the Mughal forces in the Deccan with the directions to continue the ongoing campaign against Ahmadnagar nobles.² With the arrival of Daniyal in the Deccan, there began the real trouble for Bahadur Shah, who had by this time, made up his mind not to succumb to the Mughal pressure. On Daniyal's arrival Bahadur Shah neither sent him a condolence message on the death of Murad, nor came down from the fort of Asirgarh to welcome him.³ This stubborn attitude of Bahadur Shah angered Daniyal. Though he was on his way to besiege Ahmadnagar, he halted at Burhanpur with an intention to punish Bahadur Shah by besieging him in the fort of Asirgarh.⁴ However, Akbar, who having been relieved from his pre-occupation in the north-west, was on his way towards

1. See ZUW (Tr.), I, 74.

2. AN, III, 756; Ferishta, II, 290.

3. AN, III, 766-67; Ferishta, II, 290.

4. AN, III, 766-67; Ferishta, I, 271.

the Deccan, and had already reached Malwa, advised Daniyal against wasting time in Khandesh. On coming to know about Daniyal's determination to invest Asirgarh, he ordered him refrain from such a course and concentrate on the invasion of Ahmadnagar.¹ The reason, why Akbar instructed Daniyal not to waste his time in khandesh, was obvious. On noticing that Mughals were delaying their march against Ahmadnagar, the Nizam Shahi troops regaining their confidence to some extent had started making night raids on Daniyal's camp.² Although they were not very successful in these forays but these developments had made the Mughal military position rather uncomfortable. Moreover, Akbar was still hopeful of pacifying Bahadur Shah through personal contacts which he planned to establish after reaching Burhanpur. And lastly it seems that Akbar was eager that if Asirgarh was to be taken by, the credit for that achievement should go to him personally. Side by side with this, he also wanted to save his time so as to finish his work in the Deccan as early possible, because at this time, Prince Salim was creating troubles for him in the north, and he was in a hurry to bring to a close the matters in the Deccan, and to return to Agra without much delay to deal with the activities of Prince Salim. He, perhaps, anticipated a prolonged siege before Asirgarh was taken which

1. Ibid; Ferishta, I, 271.

2. Ibid.

could have delayed the completion of his main task in the Deccan at this time, namely, capture of Ahmadnagar.

When Akbar had started his march with the intention of subjugating the Deccan plateau, he perhaps, also intended to drive out the Portuguese from places they were controlling on the western coast of India.¹ This, at least, gives the impression of the Jesuit Fathers then staying at Akbar's court. This impression could have naturally led the Portuguese authorities at Goa to sympathise with Bahadur Shah, who was preparing to resist the Mughal thrust towards the Deccan. The Portuguese are also reported to have helped the Ahmadnagar forces as early as AD. 1597, when in the Battle of Ashti, the Mughals suffered serious losses at the hands of the Deccanis.² At this time, i.e. A.D. 1599, after sending a

-
1. Cf. Father Du Jarric's Historie des Chosen plus memorables.... en. I, Translated into English with introduction by C.H. Payne as Akbar and the Jessuits. Ed. by E. Denisson Ross and E. Power, New Delhi, 1979, p. 102. Du Jarric's account is based on the unpublished letters of Father Xavier and Father Goes, who had accompanied the Emperor in his expedition to the Deccan. He writes that "..... he (Akbar) wishes to take first the kingdom of the Deccan and afterwards those of Goa, Malabara and Bisnaga."
 2. He incorporate the information reproduced by V. Smith from one of the Portuguese account to the effect that, already by that time Akbar decided to besiege Bahadur Shah inside Asirgarh. There existed an understanding between the Khandesh ruler and the Portuguese authorities under which the latter were committed to help former in case of Mughal attack on him.

force against Ahmadnagar, Akbar also intended to attack Bijapur, but unwilling to leave any fort commanded by a hostile power in his rear, he decided to reduce Asirgarh first. This was also required for finally settling the question as to who was the real ruler of Khandesh.

When the news arrived at Burhanpur that Akbar had started his march towards the Deccan, Bahadur Shah convened a meeting of his amirs to discuss his future course of action in that situation.¹ But the nobles of Khandesh were not able to reach any consensus. Some of the prominent amirs of Bahadur Shah, including the wazir, Afzal Khan, were in favour of a peaceful settlement. They advised Bahadur Shah to submit to Akbar without fighting, while there were others who opposed the idea of submission and advocated strong resistance to the advancing imperial army.² Akbar had arrived at Burhanpur at a time when there was no consensus amongst the Khandesh amirs on their future line of action. Instead of welcoming Akbar, Bahadur Shah promptly retired to the fortress of Asirgarh and began preparations for facing a prolonged siege.³ At this turn of events some of the Khandesh amirs began deserting Bahadur Shah. They choose to join the

1. ZUW (Tr.), I, 75.

2. Ibid.

3. Ferishta, II, 290, Du Jarric, 102-03.

Mughal service. Among them Fawlad Khan, amir-ul-umara, was the most prominent amir.¹ A few days later, Sadat Khan, a brother-in-law of Bahadur Shah (sister's husband), who was sent by the Khandesh ruler to Akbar as an envoy also opted to join Mughal service.²

Despite the general demoralization caused in the Khandesh camp by these desertions, Bahadur Shah remained stubborn in his decision not to submit to Akbar and also not to cooperate in his campaigns against Ahmadnagar. On the other hand, he planned to oppose the imperial advance towards the Deccan from his strong fortress of Asirgarh, which was considered impregnable and overlooked the road to Ahmadnagar passing through the Khandesh territory.³

On arriving in the vicinity of Burhanpur, Akbar in his anxiety to defuse the tension between him and Bahadur Shah by negotiations, sent Khwaja Mawdud for advising the Khandesh

1. AN, III, 769-70.

2. Ibid, 776; ZUW (Tr), I, 78-79.

3. Abul Fazl says that, "Asir is a choicest fortress and unequalled for height and strength." See AN, II, 777. In the words of Faizi Sirhindi, "..... it was impossible to conceive of a stronger fortress, or one more amply supplied with artillery, warlike stores and provisions". See Faizi Sirhindi's AN, E & D, VI, 139. Father Du Jarric also gives an account of the strength of the fort of Asirgarh. He says, "..... on account of its site and as possessing every other feature that could render a fortress strong, appeared to be impregnable". See Du Jarric, 102-03.

ruler to accept the overlordship of the Mughal Emperor without further recrimination. But Khwaja Mawdud could not succeed in his mission to bring Bahadur Shah with him to pay his respects personally before the Emperor. Instead of his personal appearance, Bahadur Shah sent only four inferior elephants and made excuses for not coming personally. But at the same time he sent his son Kabir Khan with some men and presents to be presented to Prince Daniyal, who had proceeded on his way to Ahmadnagar.¹ By sending his son and presents to Daniyal, perhaps, Bahadur Shah wanted to show and convince Akbar that he is still loyal to the Emperor and does not want any confrontation with the Mughals. In the meanwhile, when Khwaja Mawdud failed in his mission to induce Bahadur Shah, Akbar sent two more successive embassies, but they also failed in persuading Bahadur Shah to submit before the Emperor. The futility of his peaceful overtures angered Akbar, who decided to punish Bahadur Shah by sending a force under Sheikh Farid, Qara Beg and other Mughal officers to besiege the fort of Asirgarh.²

However, Akbar still hoping to bring Bahadur Shah under his fold and decided to give another opportunity to him to apologise and offer submission, sent an order to Abul Fazl,

1. AN, III, 766-67.

2. Ibid.

who was accompanying Daniyal in his campaigns, to visit Bahadur Shah and offer him forgiveness on condition of his personal appearance to submit before the Emperor.¹ Accordingly, Abul Fazl proceeded, and on his arrival Bahadur Shah came out of the fort to welcome him and accepted the advice given by Abul Fazl and promised to wait upon the Emperor. But soon, after he went back inside the fort, he changed his stand and sent an improper reply.² However, Abul Fazl continued his march forward and joined Akbar at Burhanpur.³ It appears from the change in the decision taken by Bahadur Shah that either he was much influenced by his loyal officers who were consistent to oppose the idea of accepting the overlordship of the Mughals, or he himself wished to avoid the immediate danger, so falsely promised to Abul Fazl by agreeing to wait upon the Emperor. But, anyway, it became clear that he successfully postponed the capture of the fort by the Mughals for the time being.

Now Abul Fazl was entrusted with the task of guarding the frontiers of Khandesh. He established military posts all over Khandesh and sent troops in different directions. Within a short time almost whole of Khandesh with the exception of the fort of Asirgarh was occupied by the Mughals. Asirgarh

1. Ibid, III, 768-69.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

was besieged under the leadership of Khan-i-Azam, Sheikh Farid and Abul Fazl himself.¹ Muzaffar Husain Mirza was sent to capture Laling, where the Khandesh officials were differing on the opinion of surrender to the Mughals. There, Fawlad Khan joined the Mughal service after killing Rup Rai who had tried to prevent him from doing so.²

On seeing the determination of Akbar to capture Asirgarh Bahadur Shah tried to avoid the confrontationist situation for sometime and opened negotiations at the end of May, AD. 1600, by sending his mother and his young son with sixty elephants and some presents. He also offered to give his daughter in marriage to Prince Khusro (son of Prince Salim). He also requested the Emperor to exempt him for some time from doing service at the court, until his fears should pass away and then he would come to the court with the evidence of good service.³ From the excuses offered by Bahadur Shah and the exemption requested by him tends to imply that these negotiations were only a device to gain some time, so that he could recollect his resources further to withstand the prolonged siege, and ultimately Akbar would be obliged to lift the siege of the fort. But Bahadur Shah's

1. AN, III, 769-70.

2. Ibid.

3. AN, III, 770-71; Faizi Sirhindi's AN, E&D, VI, 144.

overtures for forgiveness were turned down and he was informed that nothing else except his personal submission would be accepted by the Emperor.¹ Thus the diplomatic mission of Bahadur Shah's mother and his son proved to be a failure and achieved nothing. Bahadur Shah could not gain the required time, and the siege of the fort continued by the Mughals.

Akbar, being anxious to capture the fort and win over the garrison, played a diplomatic move by recalling Safdar Khan from Agra. He was a grandson of Raja Ali Khan and the sister's son of Abul Fazl. When he arrived on the scene, many of the Khandesh soldiers joined the Mughal service under him.² At the same time a force under Qara Beg and other Mughal officers captured the fort of Sapan³ hill and the Khandesh troops, who were harassing the Mughals from this hill, were driven inside the fort of Asirgarh.⁴ The situation for the garrison of the fort was becoming difficult day by day since the Mughals were being able to concentrate on the siege of Asirgarh after capturing the fort of Ahmadnagar.

1. Ibid.

2. AN, III, 772. The soldiers must have joined him on account of his relationship with the Khandesh's royal family.

3. It was a hill fort to the south-west of Asirgarh, from which the Khandesh had been able to harass the besiegers.

4. AN, III, 772

Although Ahmadnagar was captured, the whole territory could not be occupied and the resistance to the Mughals continued by the Nizam Shahi troops. However, the pressure on the siege of Asirgarh was increased with the intention of taking the fort by storm.

While the pressure on the siege was increased, the defenders of the fort reduced through bribes some of the Mughal officers who left the Mughal service.¹ To counter this move the Mughals also applied the same tactics and diplomacy to break the morale of the garrison and started bribing the defenders of the fort. One of the defenders of the fort of Maligarh, an outwork of the Asirgarh fort, deserted and joined service under Qara Beg. He pointed out a secret path of Maligarh, and by using that secret path Abul Fazl, Qara Beg and others successfully captured the fort of Maligarh.¹ However, many of the imperial soldiers were killed in the operation. The defenders of the fort retreated to Asirgarh in confusion and, thus, Mughals achieved another remarkable triumph in their siege operation, but the resistance to the Mughals continued by the garrison of the fort of Asirgarh. Even after the conquest and occupation of the fort of Maligarh, it was difficult for the Mughals to conquer and occupy the fort of Asirgarh.

1. AN, III, 777-78.

Finding that all his plans to capture the fort were of no avail, Akbar decided to bombard the walls of the fort with heavy guns. But, since, Akbar had never expected that the ruler of Khandesh would close the gate of the fort before him and would stand to oppose him, he did not take heavy guns and other necessary equipment with him. However, after the siege operation started, some guns were brought from Narnala, Gawilgarh and Ahmadabad, yet these were not sufficient for the purpose.¹ Father Du Jarric in his account writes that at this moment, being in need of artillery, Akbar asked Father Xavier, who was present in his camp, to write to the Portuguese at Chaul,² requesting them to send necessary artillery and ammunitions as soon as possible. But Father Xavier refused on the plea that such action would be contrary to Christian faith.³ Du Jarric further writes that Father Xavier must have been influenced by the fact that the Khandesh forces, against whom Akbar was fighting, were in

1. AN, III, 779.

2. Chaul (18°N, 72°E), a port on the western coast of India.

3. Du Jarric, 106-08.

alliance with the Portuguese.¹

While the siege was continuing and Bahadur Shah was adamant on his decision not to submit before Akbar, some of the officers amongst the garrison became restless due to the prolonged siege. These disappointed officers, in their nervousness, hatched a conspiracy to hand over Bahadur Shah to Akbar and secure peace by surrendering the fort. But Bahadur Shah got an inkling of it and the plot was discovered.² Now it was the turn of Bahadur Shah to become nervous. He called a meeting of his trusted officers to discuss the matter. It was decided in the meeting that Bahadur Shah should open negotiations with Akbar to discuss the surrender of the fort on condition that the lives and property of the garrison should be spared.³

Another reason behind opening the negotiations by Bahadur Shah seems to be that an epidemic had broken out in the fort of Asirgarh, since Bahadur Shah had allowed a large

1. Ibid. When the fort of Asirgarh was captured, seven Portuguese officers were also made prisoner alongwith the defenders of the fort. See Du Jarric, 108-09. However, the circumstances of asking Father Xavier to write to the Portuguese at Chaul for guns is not mentioned by the chroniclers Abul Fazl and Faizi Sirhindi in their works. As well as, neither Ferishta nor Haji ud Dabir, who were contemporary writers, have said anything about the circumstance. Perhaps the matter was too unimportant for them to be mentioned.

2. Ferishta, II, 291.

3. Ibid.

number of peoples and cattles of his kingdom to take shelter in the fort, without making any proper arrangement for them. Consequently, on account of the heavy rush inside the fort the atmosphere was affected and a peculiar type of epidemic broke out in the fort.¹ This peculiar epidemic added another problem for Bahadur, who was already embarrassed by the prolonged siege, and made him anxious to open negotiations with the Mughals in order to bring to a close the matters which were deteriorating rapidly.²

Being forced by the various factors to open negotiations (Dec., AD. 1600) Bahadur Shah sent Sadat Khan to the Mughal court, but he joined the Mughal service.³ Later on, Bahadur Shah sent another envoy Muqarrib Khan, son of Malik Yaqut, a leading amir of Khandesh, who placed before Akbar the terms of surrendering the fort. These terms included that Akbar would restore the fort and the kingdom to Bahadur Shah and lives of the garrison should be spared. The emperor accepted these proposals.⁴ But it appears that Akbar

1. AN, III, 781-82; Faizi Sirhindi's AN, E&D, VI, ; Ferishta, II, 291; I, 271 ZUW, (tr.), I, 78.

2. Relying mostly on the Jesuits' account, V. Smith has concluded that "... the story of deadly pestilence is an invention intended to conceal the discreditable means (i.e. bribing the officers of the garrison) adopted by Akbar to gain possession of the fort". See V. Smith's Akbar the Great Mughals, Delhi, 1966, pp.203-04.

3. AN, III, 776.

4. AN, III, 779.

insisted on personal homage by Bahadur and the surrender of the fort. It seems that Bahadur also agreed to Akbar's demand and complied. He came out of the fort with Muqarrib Khan (Dec. 1600) and was escorted by Khan-i Azam Mirza Aziz Koka, as desired by him, to the court.¹ After Bahadur Shah paid personal homage to the emperor, he was placed under supervision in the camp of Sheikh Farid.² However, resistance to the Mughals continued by the commanders, who were opposed to the idea of submission before Akbar, hence, remained in the fort. The prominent among them was Malik Yaqut, the father of Muqarrib Khan.

Du Jurric has based his account on the letters of Jesuit Fathers, who were in attendance of Akbar at the time of the siege, gives a contradictory version about the surrender of the fort and the personal appearance of Bahadur Shah before Akbar. He says that 'being unable to capture the fort militarily Akbar decided to take it diplomatically. He invited Bahadur to his camp promising that he would be allowed to return to his fortress. The Abyssinian commander (Malik Yaqut) and the Portuguese officers were opposed to the visit, but others who had already been won over by money expressed contrary opinion and encouraged Bahadur to visit the Mughal camp. When Bahadur reached at the court of Akbar,

1. AN, III, 779; Ferishta, II, 291; ZUW (Tr.), I, 79-80.

2. AN, III, 779.

he was forced to make prostration, and later when he expressed his desire to return, Akbar treacherously got him arrested.¹ Du Jurric further writes that when this news of the arrest of Bahadur reached to the Abyssinian governor of the fort (Malik Yaqut), he immediately sent one of his sons with a letter to Akbar asking for the release of Bahadur Shah.² The son conveyed the message to Akbar that if Bahadur Shah was not allowed to return, then there was no lack of the Faruqi princes in the fort to succeed him. This answer greatly enraged Akbar and he ordered him to be killed.³ On learning this Malik Yaqut assembled the Faruqi princes, who were under detention, and requested them to lead the Khandesharmy and defend the fort. However, none of them came forward and Malik Yaqut being disappointed committed suicide.⁴ Consequently, a few days later, the fort was surrendered to the Mughals. Among the prisoners, seven Portuguese officers were

1. Du Jurric, 104-05.

2. Ibid.

3. The son of the Abyssinian governor, here said to have been murdered by Akbar, is clearly Muqarrib Khan, referred to by Abul Fazl and Faizi Sirhindi in their works. The Jesuit version of his murder is not convincing, since Faizi Sirhindi's statement that Muqarrib Khan committed suicide (E&D, VI, 146) is corroborated by Haji-ud-Dabir (Zafar-ul-Walid, (Tr.), I, 79-80). But it is strange that Abul Fazl does not say anything about the death of Muqarrib Khan.

4. Du Jurric, 105-06.

also there, who were handed over to Father Xavier.¹

How actually the fort of Asirgarh was captured is a controversial issue. There are divergent accounts of contemporary chroniclers. The work of the court historians Abul Fazl who himself held a commanding position and was responsible in the Mughals' success, is entirely, different from that of Jesuit version given by Du Jarric. According to Abul Fazl, Bahadur Shah was asked to write a letter to the garrison ordering them to surrender the fort.² Initially Bahadur Shah refused to comply this order, but later on, under compulsion, he was obliged to write the letter and the fort was formally surrendered to the Mughals on 17th January, AD. 1601.³ It is very interesting to note that Abul Fazl, to whom the credit of victory was given, does not say anything either about the suicide committed by Malik Yaqut or about the suicide of Muqarrib Khan. Although Haji-ud-Dabir says that Muqarrib Khan stabbed himself with a dagger in the mailis of Abul Fazl.⁴ But it is assumed that Muqarrib Khan was not murdered by Akbar as stated by Du Jarric.⁵ In fact,

1. Ibid, 108-09.

2. It has already been mentioned that by this time Bahadur Shah had personally surrendered and was in the camp of Sheikh Farid.

3. AN, III, 780-81; Also see Ferishta, II, 291.

4. ZUW (Tr.), I, 79-80.

5. Du Jarric, 105-06.

it was he (i.e. Muqarrib Khan) who carried back the letter of Bahadur Shah to the garrison. This inference can be corroborated from the accounts of Faizi Sirhindi and Haji-ud-Dabir. Both of them has given a detailed description that Malik Yaqut rebuked his son Muqarrib Khan for throwing his master (i.e. Bahadur Shah) into the hands of the Mughals. Being unable to sustain this allegation and having lost the trust of his father and his master simultaneously, Muqarrib Khan stabbed himself to death.¹ Sometimes later, being disappointed by the Faruqi princes, since none of them had come forward to take the charge of defending the fort, Malik Yaqut also committed suicide.² His death removed the only obstacle and the keys of the fort were handed over to the Mughals. Bahadur Shah was imprisoned and was sent with his family to Gwalior fort, and the Faruqi dynasty of Khandesh came to an end. Khandesh was annexed to the Mughal empire under the name of Dandesh³ and was made a new suba of the Empire.

About the time of capture of the fort of Asirgarh, a chronogram is inscribed on one of the stone pillars of Jama

1. Faizi Sirhindi's AN, E&D, VI, 146; ZUW (Tr.), I, 79-80.

2. Ibid.

3. AN, III, 785. The name Dandesh has a double meaning here. First, since it was given to Prince Daniyal, hence after his name the new name Dandesh was given to Khandesh. Secondly Dan means 'gift' and it was given in gift to Daniyal.

Masjid of Asirgarh, which suggests that the fort was captured by Akbar in AH. 1009 (i.e. AD. 1601).¹ This inscription was written by Muhammad Masum of Bhakkar, who had accompanied Akbar at the time of the capture of Asirgarh.

Concluding Remarks of Chapter IV

This chapter can be closed with the concluding remarks, that, throughout this period (AD. 1597-AD. 1601), the relations between the Mughals and the state of Khandesh developed to be more strained, which ultimately led to the extinction of the kingdom and being incorporated into the Mughal Empire. Bahadur Shah, after ascending the throne of Khandesh, opposed the Mughal advance into the Deccan more consistently and honestly than his father. All efforts by Akbar to win over the alliance of Bahadur Shah through peaceful means were in vain, which eventually culminated into an all out invasion of the fort of Asirgarh. However, after sometime Bahadur submitted personally before the Emperor, forced by various factors, but it emerges out clearly from the several events discussed in the chapter that he was determined to offer a steadfast resistance and not to succumb before the Mughal pressure. Therefore throughout this period he refrained from allying with the Mughals in the conquest of

-
1. Khird guft bagirafte koh Asir (... He (Akbar) took the hill of Asir), i.e. AH. 1009/AD. 1601. Epigraphia Islamica. Arabic and Persian Supplement, 1925-26, pp.3-4.

Deccan. However, Bahadur could not be successful in his endeavour.

Among the various reasons which brought about the surrender of the fort of Asirgarh, one was the outbreak of a deadly pestilence. It was definitely not a "story invented to conceal the discreditable means" adopted by Akbar. The pestilence did break out but the rate of mortality was not so high as has been mentioned by Abul Fazl. Even after a prolonged siege, there were provisions and ammunitions in abundance inside the fort at the time of surrender which were enough to last for years.

The extinction of the state of Khandesh paved the way for the conquest and occupation of the Deccan plateau by the Mughals. It started a series of conflicts between the Mughals and the independent states of the Deccan.

(1) AN, III, 777-78; Ferishta, II, 290; ZUW (Tr.), I, 78.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV

Description of the Boundaries of the Khandesh state in AD. 1601:

As already stated, in working out the boundary of Khandesh in AD. 1601, I have proceeded from the assumption that the territory of suba Dandesh as described by Abul Fazl in the Ain-i-Akbari constituted the core of the Khandesh state on the eve of its annexation by Akbar. As a matter of fact, Abul Fazl's description of the confines of suba Dandesh makes it quite evident that he is describing, by and large, the territory constituting the core of the earstwhile state of Khandesh.¹ One would be, therefore, on quite sure grounds in imagining that the boundary of suba Dandesh worked out by Irfan Habib in An Atlas of the Mughal Empire was largely the boundary of the Khandesh state at the time of its annexation to the Mughal Empire in AD. 1601.

As one gathers from Abul Fazl's Ahwal-i-Duwazdah Suba (Accounts of twelve subas) in Ain-i-Akbari, that Nandurbar originally (i.e. at the time of the compilation of Ain-i-Akbari sometime around AD. 1595-96) was a sarkar in the suba

1. "On its east is Berar, to the north Malwa, to the south Galna, and to the west the southern chains of mountains of Malwa. The rivers are numerous, the principle being the Tapti, Purna and Girna". Cf. Ain, II, 106.

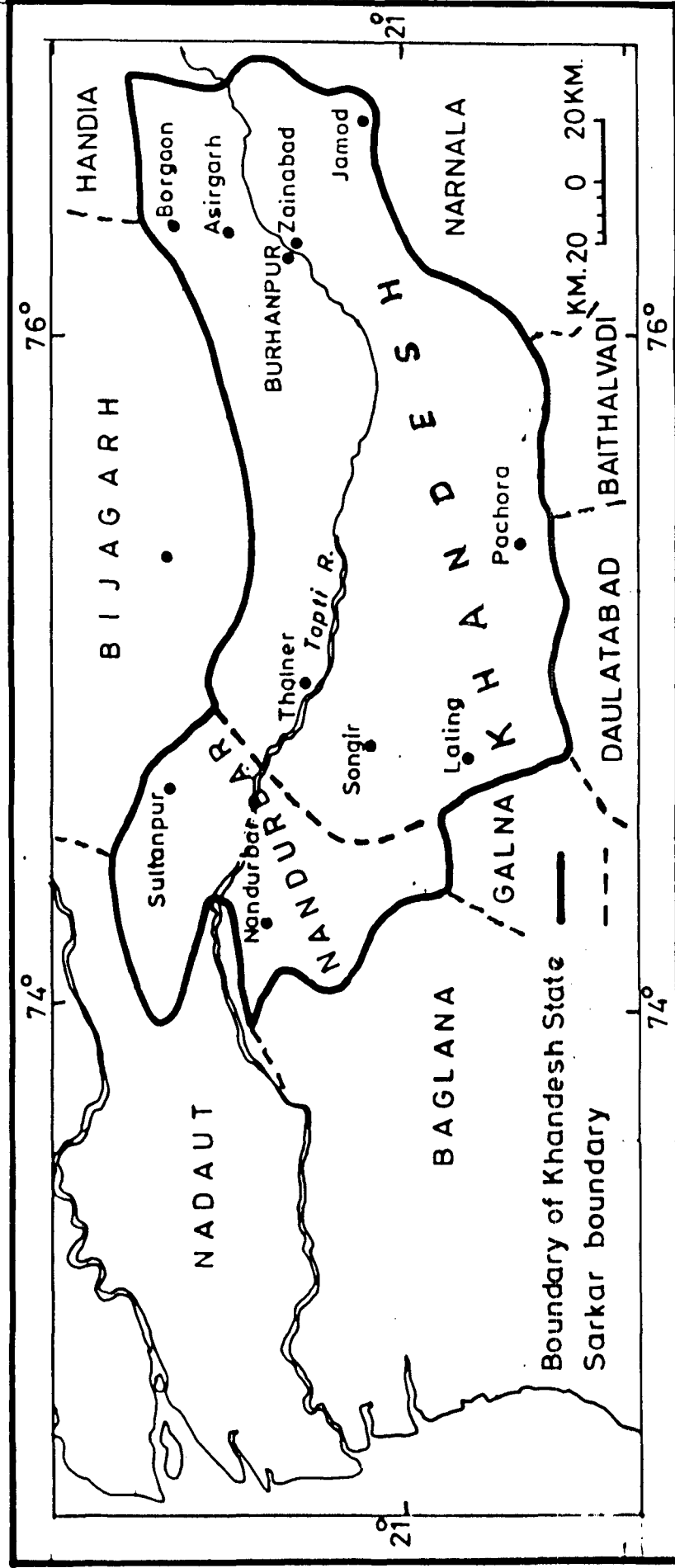
Malwa.¹ But on the other hand there exists definite evidence to the effect that at the time of annexation of Khandesh by Akbar, the sakar of Nandurbar was a part of that state. Both, Abul Fazl and Haji-ud-Dabir makes the explicit statement that Nandurbar was given to Raja Ali Khan, the ruler of Khandesh in AD. 1595.² There is no further evidence suggesting any change in the position of Nandurbar till AD. 1601. It would be quite justified in supposing that Nandurbar remained a part of the Khandesh state till its annexation to the Mughal empire.

Thus, in AD. 1601, the territory of the Khandesh state extended from Jamod pargana in the east to the western and southern confines of the sakar Nandurbar in the west, and from Borgaon pargana in the north-east to the Laling pargana bordering Ahmadnagar in the south-west.³

-
1. Ain, II, 101. In this description Nandurbar with its seven mahals is shown as a part of the suba Malwa.
 2. AN, III, 697; ZUW (Tr.), I, 71.
 3. See the appended map E.

KHANDESH STATE A.D.1601

Map E



CONCLUSION

Since its very inception as an independent state, Khandesh was involved in a complex pattern of relationship with its neighbouring Deccani states in general and Gujarat in particular. Although the states of Khandesh, Malwa and Gujarat had declared themselves independent of the Delhi Sultanate almost at the same time, but with the passage of time Gujarat had attained a position stronger than the other two. Taking advantage of his military superiority the Sultan of Gujarat generally tended towards reducing the ruler of Khandesh to the position of a tributary chief. This pattern of relationship between the two was largely shaped by a continuing rivalry over the territories of Nandurbar and Sultanpur. On each occasion when the two powers clashed with each other the Sultan of Gujarat succeeded in gaining an upper hand over the ruler of Khandesh. The latter tried to ward-off this Gujarati pressure by allying sometimes with the Khalji rulers of Malwa and at other occasions with the Bahamanis. But, since the developments of the 15th century made it clear that these two powers were not a position to protect Khandesh, the Faruqi rulers were left with no alternative, but to reconcile themselves to the domination of Gujarat by agreeing to pay to the Sultan of Gujarat annual

peshkash. Subsequently, this unequal relationship between the rulers of Khandesh and the Sultan of Gujarat was further strengthened by the marital ties. Henceforth the rulers of Khandesh started accompany the Sultans of Gujarat on their military expeditions to Malwa and Mewar. This co-operation continued down to AD. 1535 when the Khandesh ruler fully collaborated with Bahadur Shah in opposing the advance of the Mughal Emperor Humayun into Malwa and Gujarat. This invited the wrath of the Mughal ruler, Humayun, but Muhammad Shah II of Khandesh was not deterred. He continued to support Bahadur Shah against the Mughals, till the latter was killed by the Portuguese.

There was a sudden rupture in this cordial relationship between the two powers after the violent death of Bahadur Shah (AD.1537) at the hands of the Portuguese. The new ruler of Khandesh, Mubarak Shah II, manipulated the situation to regain from the Gujaratis the disputed territories of Nandurbar and Sultanpur. He even began to intervene in the internal affairs of Gujarat and tried to dominate over the weak successor of Bahadur Shah.

But the advance of the Mughals into Malwa (AD. 1562) and the subsequent agreement between the Mughals and the

ruler of Khandesh (AD. 1564) entirely changed the power equation in the region. After, AD. 1562 the Mughals began to play ^A crucial role in shaping the relations of Khandesh with the neighbouring kingdoms. The rulers of Ahmadnagar and Gujarat naturally did not like this alliance between the Mughals and the state of Khandesh since they perceived it as a part of a grand design on the part of the Mughals to annex Gujarat and Deccan. The nobles of Gujarat turned particularly hostile towards the ruler of Khandesh for his establishing close ties with the Mughals. Their strategy during this time was aimed at forcing the Khandesh state to resile from its proximity with the Mughals. This, ^{precipitated} ~~precipitated~~ a struggle between the two powers that persisted in one form or the other till the sultanate of Gujarat was annexed to the Mughal Empire.

The annexation of Gujarat by Akbar gave a new dimension to the inter-state relations in the Deccan plateau. The annexation of Nandurbar and Sultanpur alongwith Gujarat to Mughal Empire (AD. 1572) ^{was} naturally resented ^{by} ~~by~~ the ruler of Khandesh. He in turn, refused to play the Mughal game in the Deccan. In AD. 1574, when Akbar wanted to use Khandesh for thwarting the Nizam Shah's attempt to annex Berar, the Khandesh ruler did not co-operate with him. During the subsequent

period of two years (i.e. AD. 1574-76), Muhammad Shah II kept on stalling the situation by refusing to play either in the hands of the Mughals or in those of the Nizam Shah. At the same time, he tried, as far as possible, to avoid making any move that could have provoked any one of these two powerful neighbours to invade his kingdom.

After the accession of Raja Ali Khan a new situation developed in the Mughal-Khandesh relations. Unlike his predecessors, Raja Ali Khan was never reconciled to becoming a vassal of the Mughal Emperor. Right from his accession, he took steps to ensure that his kingdom did not fall victim to the imperial clutches of Akbar. Throughout his reign with regard to the Mughals he seems to have followed a dubious policy. On the ^{one} ~~other~~ hand, he continuously hoped and also vainly tried to form an alliance of the Deccani states for giving a concerted resistance to the Mughals, on the other hand he often also entered into an alliance with them and even agreed to the establishment of marital ties with the Mughal ruling family. Despite his strong aversion to playing into the hands of Akbar, dramatic turns in the Ahmadnagar's court politics compelled him to ally with the Mughals in AD.1595. Yet his true sympathies were always with the Deccani states. It was this dubious attitude of Raja Ali Khan

that made him a suspect in both the camps. Though, he died fighting on Mughals' side in AD. 1597 but the military alliance with the Mughals that Raja Ali Khan had forged in AD. 1595 did not help in promoting friendly feelings and cordiality between them. Deep rooted suspicions continued to mark the Mughal-Khandesh relations throughout this period of two years of military alliance between the two. One might note in this regard that the dubious policy followed by Raja Ali Khan with regards to the Mughal advance towards Deccan was ^a tactical manoeuvre which perhaps, delayed the extinction of his kingdom by a few years.

With the death of Raja Ali Khan, and accession of Bahadur Shah to the throne of Khandesh, began the final phase Mughal-Khandesh relations which culminated in the extinction of the latter in AD.1601. During this period, the relations between the Khandesh state and the Mughals tended to be more and more strained with the passage of time. Basic cause of this mounting tension between the two powers was that Bahadur Shah's determination not to succumb to the Mughal pressure. He, thus, refrained from allying with them in the military operations they were conducting from AD. 1597 onwards for stamping out the resistance put up by the Ahmadnagar nobles in the territories ceded to the Mughals under the treaty of

AD. 1596. He endeavoured to oppose the Mughal advance into the Deccan plateau more persistently than was ever attempted by his father. However, Bahadur Shah proved to be a total failure in diplomacy. In opposing the Mughals openly he did not take into account the fact that this would furnish them a pretext for justifying their virtual occupation of large tracts of the Khandesh territory including Burhanpur which was a reality since AD. 1595. Bahadur Shah's defiant attitude towards the Mughals eventually culminated into an all-out invasion by the Mughals and the siege of Asirgarh in AD. 1601, which marked the extinction of the state of Khandesh. This of course paved the way for the full-scale offensive by the Mughals against the Deccani states during ensuing four decades that separated the fall of Asirgarh (AD. 1601) from ~~the~~ Shahjahan's Treaties with Adil Shahis and Qutub Shahis in AD. 1636.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the following is given the list of the sources which are divided into various categories like (A) Persian Texts (including chronicles as well as Insha collections), (B) Epigraphical source material (C) European Account and (D) Modern Works (including monographs as well as articles). In this list while the Persian chronicles are mentioned in a chronological order, the Insha collections and the books in other categories are listed in the alphabetical order of the names of the authors.

(A) PERSIAN TEXTS

(i) Persian Chronicles

1. Shams-i-Siraj Afif,
Tarikh-i-Firozshahi, A.H. 801/A.D. 1398
Edited by Maulvi Vilayat Husain, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, A.D. 1888-91.
2. Yahya bin Ahmad bin Sirhindi,
Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi, A.H. 838/A.D. 1435-36
Edited by Maulvi Vilayat Husain, Nazir, Madarsa-i-Aliya, Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1931.
3. Khwaja Nizam al-Din Ahmad,
Tabaqat-i-Akbari, A.H. 1002/A.D. 1593-94
Edited by B. De and Muhammad Hidayat Husain, Bibliotheca Indica, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1935.
English Translation by B.De, published by Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1939, Reprint, 1973.
4. Abd-al-Qadir Badaoni,
Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh often called Tarikh-i-Badaoni,
A.H. 1004/A.D. 1595-96
Edited by Maulvi Ahmad Ali and Kabir-ud-Din Ahmad, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1868.

- English Translation of Vol. I by George S.A. Ranking, Vol. II by W.H. Lowe and Vol. III by T.W. Haig Idarah-i-Adabiyat, Delhi, Reprint, 1973.
5. Sayyid Ali Tabataba
Burhan-i-Maasir, A.H. 1000-1004/A.D. 1592-96
Editions Hyderabad, 1936. Printed at Delhi, 1936.
 6. Abul Fazl
Akbarnama, A detailed history of Akbar's reign till A.H. 1010/A.D. 1602.
Edited by Maulvi Agha Ahmad Ali and Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Bibliotheca Indica, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1876-1886.
English translation by H. Beveridge, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, Second Indian Reprint, Ess Ess Publications, New Delhi, 1979.
 7. Abul Fazl
Ain-i-Akbari, A detailed history of administration and statistics of Akbar's Empire, A.H. 1010/A.D. 1602.
Munshi Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1882
English translations of Vol. I by H. Blochmann, Vol. II and III by H.S. Jarret, Bibliotheca Indica, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1873, 1891 and 1894.
Third Edition, 1978.
 8. Faizi Sirhindi,
Akbarnama, A.H. 1010/1601-02
English extracts in The History of India as told by its own Historians, Edited by Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, pp.116-146 Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, First Indian Edition, 1964.
 9. Md. Abul Qasim 'Ferishta'
Tarikh-i-Ferishta or usually called Gulsham-i-Ibrahimi, A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606-07, Nawal Kishor Press, Lucknow, 1864.
English translation by John Briggs under the title "History of the Rise of the Mohammdan Power in India", Calcutta (Reprinted), 1966.
 10. Jahangir
Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, A.H. 1017/A.D. 1608
(The earliest version was written in the 3rd year of Jahangir's reign).
Edited by Syed Ahmad Khan, Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1864.
English translation by A. Rogers and edited by H. Beveridge, London, 1909-14.

11. Abdullah Muhammad Haji ud-Dabir
Zafar-ul-Walih Bi Muzaffar wa Alihi, better known as "An Arabic History of Gujarat", A.H. 1015-20/A.D. 1606-11.
Text Edited by Sir E. Dennison Ross
Translated by M.F. Lokhandwala, Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda, 1970.
12. Sikandar bin Manjhu Gujarati
Mirat-i-Sikandari, completed in A.D. 1611
Edited by Satish Chandra Misra and Muhammad Lutfur Rahman, M.S. Rao University, Baroda, 1961.
13. Samsamuddaula Shahnawaz Khan,
Maasir-ul-Umara, AH. 1155-60/AD. 1742-47.
Edited by Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1888 English translation by H. Beveridge. Revised and annotated by Beni Prasad, First Reprint edition, Patna, 1979.
14. Ali Muhammad Khan,
Mirat-i-Ahmadi, A.H. 1170/A.D. 1756-57
Edited by Syed Nawab Ali, Baptiste Mission Press, Calcutta, 1928. Translated from original by M.F. Lokhandwala, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1965.

(ii) Insha Collections

1. Anonymous Insha Collection, [Miscellaneous MS]
MS, Bibliotheque Nationale, Persian Supplement, 1352, Paris
(MF-453, 454. Microfilms at the Centre of Advanced Study in History, A.M.U. Aligarh).
2. Faizi, Sheikh Abul Faiz
Ruqqat-i-Faizi or Waqiat, (written from Deccan in A.H. 999/A.D. 1590).
British Museum, Or. 1856, fol. 54 Add. 30795, fol. 415-53 [English extract in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, under the title Waqiat, pp.147-49].

(B) EPIGRAPHICAL SOURCE MATERIAL

1. Epigraphica Indica (Arabic and Persian Supplement 1921-30), continuation of Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica.

(C) EUROPEAN ACCOUNT

1. Du Jarric, Father Pierre, S.J.
Historie des choses plus memorables... en. I
First published in French at Arras in A.D. 1611, Third
part published in A.D. 1614.

Translated into English with Introduction and notes by
C.H. Payne entitled Akbar and the Jesuits (An account
of the Jesuit mission to the Court of Akbar). Edited by
E. Dennison Ross and E. Power, Tulsi Publishing House,
New Delhi, 1979.

D) MODERN WORKS

1) Monographs

1. Alavi, R.A. - Studies in the History of
Medieval Deccan
Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delhi, 1974
2. Augustus, Fredrick - The Emperor Akbar, Vol. II
Patna, 1973
3. Avasthi, R.S. - The Mughal Emperor Humayun,
Allahabad, 1967.
4. Baylay, Sir Edward - The Local Muhammadan Dynasties:
Clive
Gujarat
Edited by Nagendra Singh,
First Edited and published in
A.D. 1886, London.
First Indian Reprint, 1970,
New Delhi.
5. Bird, James (Tr) - Medieval Gujarat: The Political
and Statistical History,
Based on Mohd. Ali Khan's
Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Translated in
A.D. 1822 by Narsain Dass of the
Kait Tribe at Ahmadabad.
Translated by James Bird, London,
1835, Reprint, Delhi, 1960.
6. Commissariat - History of Gujarat, Vol. I
Longman Green & Co., 1938.

7. Danvers, F.C. - The Portuguese in India
London, 1894, Reprint, 1966.
8. Day, U.N. - Medieval Malwa
Delhi, 1965
9. Elliot & Dowson (eds)- History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. VI
London, 1871, India Reprint, 1964
10. Gribble, J.D.B. - History of the Deccan, Vol. I
London, 1895
11. Habib & Nizami (eds)- A Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V
Delhi, 1970, Reprint, 1982.
12. Habib, Irfan - An Atlas of the Mughal Empire
Oxford University Press, New Delhi
First published, 1982, Reprint, 1986
13. Haig, Woolseley (ed) - The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, Delhi, 1958.
14. Jauhari, R.C. - Firoz Tughlaq,
Agra, 1968
15. Khan, Iqtidar Alam - Political Biography of a Mughal Noble: Munim Khan, Khan-i-Khana (A.D. 1497-1575), Aligarh
16. Lane-Poole, Stanley - The Muhammadan Dynasties
Westminster, 1893, Reprint
Delhi, 1977.
17. Misra, S.C. - The Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat,
Asia Publishing House, Bombay,
1963, Second Edition, 1982.
18. Prasad, Ishwari - Life and Times of Humayun,
Orient Longman, Calcutta, 1955
19. Sherwani, H.K. and Joshi, P.M. (eds.) - History of Medieval Deccan, (A.D. 1295-1724), Vol. I,
Hyderabad, 1973.

20. Sherwani, H.K. - The Brahmanis of the Deccan, Hyderabad, 1953, Reprint, New Delhi, 1985.
21. Shyam, Radhey - The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar Delhi, 1966.
22. Shyam, Radhey - The Kingdom of Khandesh, Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delhi, 1981
23. Smith, V.A. - Akbar, the Great Mogul, Oxford 1919, Third Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1966.
24. Tripathi, R.P. - Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire Allahabad, 1956

(ii) Periodical Literature

1. Alavi, R.A. - Mughal Geographical Account of Khandesh, Medieval India. A Miscellany, Vol. III, Aligarh, 1975
2. Chandra, Satish - The Deccan Policy of the Mughals - A Reappraisal, Indian Historical Review, Vol. IV, 1978, Vol. V, 1978-79.
3. Haiq, T.W. - The Faruqi Dynasty of Khandesh, Indian Antiquary, 1918
4. Khan, Iqtidar Alam - Ahmadnagar and the Sur Empire (A.D. 1537-53), A Study of some contemporary Documents Proc. I.H.C., 1983.
5. Moosvi, Shireen - The Mughal Empire and the Deccan - Economic Factors and Consequences Proc. I.H.C., 1982
6. Volume of Indian History Congress, consisting papers of the members, Centre of Advanced Study in History, presented at the 49th Session, IHC, Dharwad, 1988.

(iii) Other References

1. Cattenoz, H.G. Tables De Concordance.. etc.
[Conversion Table]
2. Encyclopaedia of Islam
3. Steingass, F. Persian-English Dictionary
Oxford Oriental Reprint, New Delhi,
Second Indian Edition, 1981.
4. Storey, C.A. Persian Literature - A Bio-
bibliographical Survey, Vol. I
Published by the Royal Asiatic
Society of Britain and Ireland,
London, 1970.
5. Yule, Henry and
Bernell, A.C. Hobson Jobson: A Glossary of Anglo-
Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases
Second Edition, Delhi, 1968.